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Polish Foreign Minister visits Bonn

A treaty normalising relations between two countries is no guarantee that relations will in fact return to normal. The treaty between Bonn and Warsaw, concluded in December 1970 and ratified in June 1972, testifies to the dependence of developments as envisaged in black and white on external circumstances, domestic trends, the men at the top and individual occurrences. The net result can be negative.

In the context of relations between this country and Poland, the touchiest aspect of Bonn's *Ostpolitik*, the impression that relations now are worse than prior to the treaty is easily gained.

In both countries there are groups who are dissatisfied with the treaty. If they are to determine the tenor of relations a Cold War atmosphere could easily return.

This is why it was high time for top-level political consultations to review developments and lend fresh impetus to the process of normalisation.

At the end of the first day of talks in Bonn between Walter Scheel and his Polish counterpart, Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski, 41, a number of diplomats involved were still doubtful whether the target it had been hoped the talks would achieve would be reached.

In a speech lasting nearly two hours Olszowski listed a catalogue of Polish demands and expectations that augured ill, or so members of this country's delegation felt.

There seemed to be little prospect of a breakthrough in the Red Cross family repatriation programme. Poland made fresh reparations demands and levelled accusations in respect of trade relations. The Poles also objected to the outmoded term "Polish-occupied territories" in an official handbook. Accusations and lamentation were the order of the day.

The atmosphere at the evening's reception was chilly. Foreign Minister Olszowski himself, a man no one in this country encountered in the course of the treaty negotiations, can hardly be said to exude Polish charm.

When Foreign Minister Scheel of this country introduced Opposition leader Rainer Barzel at the dinner table Olszowski made not the slightest attempt to converse with the man who may well soon be at the helm of the Federal government in Bonn.

Their Foreign Minister's declaration of principles, the Poles say, was intended for Herr Barzel and any other government that might come into power in Bonn. In reply to references to the difficult domestic political situation in this country at the moment the Poles pointed out that they too had domestic political considerations to take into account.

On the following day Chancellor Brandt and Foreign Minister Scheel evidently succeeded in improving matters. Walter Scheel proved that he can give as well as take.

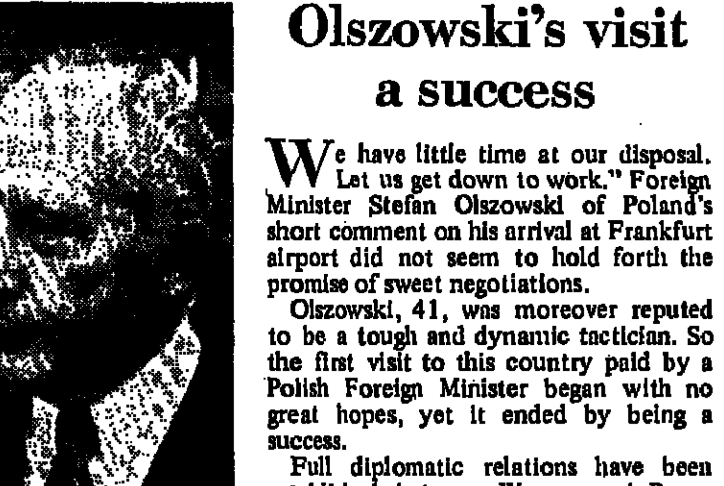
The family repatriation programme will continue and is regarded as a yardstick of the tenor of relations between Bonn and Warsaw. The easing of travel restrictions agreed on ratification of the treaty will be implemented.

Full diplomatic relations will be established even though the negotiations between Bonn and East Berlin have not yet been concluded. Bonn's Warsaw embassy will handle the consular affairs of West Berlin, as this country expected.

A good many hurdles remain to be cleared before relations can be rated normal. In ties between this country and Poland in particular the process will take some time. Olszowski and Scheel can nonetheless be said to have made progress in the right direction. *Reinhard Appel*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 September 1972)





Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski, arriving at Frankfurt airport on 14 September being met by the Federal Republic Foreign Minister, Walter Scheel (right). (Photo: dpa)

An historic step forwards

Germans and Poles have always found difficulty in forging political ties. The lessons allegedly learnt from a history of troubled relations between the two neighbouring countries have made life difficult and continue to do so.

In both countries, however, there are many people who advocate sanguine pragmatism as a means of arriving at fruitful cooperation.

Immediately prior to the Bonn meeting between Foreign Ministers Scheel and Olszowski it looked as though this viewpoint would be disregarded and the fine words that accompanied the signing of the treaty in December 1970 forgotten.

The final communiqué of the Bonn talks thus represents a pleasant surprise in that it is marked by the very spirit of pragmatism that was needed.

The two countries have now formally established diplomatic relations. Ambassadors will shortly be appointed, though of course the Poles may well take longer to do so than Bonn would like and is usual.

In Warsaw it is claimed that any delay will be due to personnel rather than political reasons. Instead of "technocrat" Dr Egon Emmel, the current head of the Federal Republic trade mission in the Polish capital, Warsaw would sooner have a combination of Willy Brandt, Berthold Beitz and Heinrich Böll.

The stipulations and reservations that have been bandied about in Poland in recent weeks certainly do not seem to have been discussed in Bonn. It remains to be seen whether or not they are intended merely for domestic consumption.

The communiqué has little to say about the tricky problem of repatriation facilities for Polish citizens of German nationality. The sad likelihood is that least progress was made on this point. It may perhaps have been as well, though, that the two Foreign Ministers have now been officially confronted with the topic.

On arriving in Bonn Stefan Olszowski noted that he was in a hurry to get down to work, of which there was plenty. This may have been a ploy to shake off journalists but it would seem to be the keynote of future relations between Poland and this country.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 September 1972)

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Olszowski's visit a success

"We have little time at our disposal. Let us get down to work." Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski of Poland's short comment on his arrival at Frankfurt airport did not seem to hold forth the promise of sweet negotiations.

Olszowski, 41, was moreover reputed to be a tough and dynamic tactician. So the first visit to this country paid by a Polish Foreign Minister began with no great hopes, yet it ended by being a success.

Full diplomatic relations have been established between Warsaw and Bonn, with ambassadors in both capitals. This is assuredly a historic step and it is further worth noting that both ambassadors have consular powers extending to West Berlin.

This is a further demonstration that the erstwhile policy pursued by the GDR, that of isolating West Berlin from the Federal Republic and imposing upon the city the status of a third German state, has finally died the death.

The Federal government in Bonn can be satisfied. The *Ostpolitik* of Chancellor Willy Brandt and Foreign Minister Walter Scheel has made further progress.

At times, abroad even, it has been suggested that Warsaw might wait until the Federal Republic and the GDR have come to terms before establishing full diplomatic ties. This supposition has been disproven.

Fears that Poland may have been particularly piqued by wrangling in this country over ratification of the treaty with Warsaw and by the Bundestag resolution in connection with ratification, which from Poland's point of view called recognition of the Oder-Neisse line into question again, have also been disproved. Warsaw has shown sovereign self-confidence.

The normalisation of relations and confirmation of both sides' resolve to make further progress in economic and cultural affairs does not, of course, mean that there are no problems left.

The scant mention of the repatriation programme in the final communiqué speaks for itself. Bonn will patiently and perseveringly have to keep this topic on the agenda and remind the Poles that the ball is still in their court.

In connection with the repatriation of between 60,000 and 70,000 Polish citizens of German nationality it is as well to remember that Foreign Minister Scheel talked in terms of a four- to five-year period in the course of the negotiations that led up to the signing of the treaty two years ago. There is still plenty of time left but of course no cause for letting matters slide.

The gratifying outcome of the Polish Foreign Minister's visit will not be without effect on developments in relations between Bonn and other Eastern European countries. Relations with Warsaw will be bound to influence Budapest, Sofia and Prague too.

Despite ideological differences that exist now just as they have done in the past this country, just like everyone else in the West, needs normal ties with all Communist countries when all is said and done. *Kurt Gehrmann*

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 15 September 1972)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Bonn's foreign policy problems after the Munich massacre

The Games must go on, outgoing IOC President Avery Brundage proclaimed after the Munich massacre. The same applies to politics, foreign policy in particular.

Foreign affairs too must go on – not, of course, as though nothing had happened; the emotions occasioned by the terrorist attack must be taken into consideration.

But emotion must not be allowed to gain the upper hand, otherwise the harm to foreign affairs will be even greater and the terrorists might yet gain their objective of substituting the fait accompli of violence for political common sense.

The Arab terrorists' target is to prevent a political solution to the Middle East conflict from being reached. It was mere coincidence that this country was the scene of bloodshed, albeit a dangerous and disadvantageous coincidence.

In Munich the policy pursued by Bonn so far in the Middle East, that of non-intervention, proved impossible. There was no alternative to an attempt to free the Israeli hostages.

This country thus took sides with the Israelis, or so a large chunk of Arab public opinion felt. This impression was reinforced by the fact that the unsuccessful attempt to free the hostages at Fürstenfeldbruck was undertaken after consultation with the Israeli government.

The refusal of Arab governments to bring moderating influence to bear on the terrorists further worsened the situation. Which is why President Heinemann in his funeral oration at Munich's Olympic Stadium noted that "the countries that failed to prevent these people from doing what they did are partly to blame."

This statement nicely put the feeling current in the country at the time and was indeed accurate. The Foreign Office, however, was none too enthusiastic about it. It may, the Foreign Office felt, have been inevitable as a means of catering for domestic feeling but it was equally likely to add fuel to the fire of Arab emotions.

Dr Heinemann was not alone in not mincing words. Social Democrat Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, a Bundestag member who has made a name for himself as a friend of the Arabs, even went so far as to call for a ban on citizens of Arab countries that condone terror either studying or working in this country.

Fellow-Social Democrat Ulrich Lohmar capped this with a demand for an embargo until further notice on development aid to Arab countries.

The reaction in Israel to the Munich attack, insofar as it related to this country, testified to what might almost be termed pity at the failure of the rescue attempt.

There was a certain amount of criticism of security precautions but no political accusations were levelled, which is a noble gesture when one bears in mind the feelings that must be raised by the murder of Jews in Germany.

The moral commitment to Israel in this country has seldom been as powerful as it was in the aftermath of Munich, and this too is a fact that must be borne in mind by foreign policy-makers.

What is more, there has never been such powerful anti-Arab sentiment in this country as at present and Bonn's policy in the Middle East will have to take public feeling at home into account.

This is doubtless why Bonn's response was not entirely uniform. On the one hand there was President Heinemann's statement, on the other the words of Foreign Minister Scheel, who took care not to talk in terms of guilt on the part of Arab governments and, like Chancellor Brandt, warned against condemning the Arabs out of hand.

Differentiation is the byword. A distinction must be drawn between the terrorists and the Arab governments and further distinctions must be drawn between the various Arab gouvernments.

Views do, of course, differ in Arab countries, not least because the relationship between governments and terrorist groups varies and is conflicting, ranging from virtual identification in Syria to open armed hostility in Jordan.

There are intermediate stances too. In Lebanon the terrorists are tolerated. In Libya they can count on a certain amount of cooperation. Everywhere in the Arab world, though, they can count on many sympathisers among the general public.

The Arab reaction is equally graduated. The fiercest noises are made by the Press, Arab newspapers writing in terms of "German betrayal" of the hostages, the "German-Israeli conspiracy" and "retaliation."

Official commentaries tend to be more evasive and in cases where the tenor is fairly anti-Bonn the interpretations that can be made for domestic and foreign consumption differ.

The frankest comment was made by Arab ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions in this country, who are about as far removed from Arab home affairs as possible. They "do not consider the move undertaken by a few Palestinians in Munich to be the right way of setting about securing Palestinian rights."

This graduated response illustrates the Arabs' dilemma. On the one hand most governments cannot, for domestic reasons, afford to repudiate the terrorists expressly. The guerrillas are, when all is said and done, merely putting into practice the bellicose verbiage that has long been the stock in trade of Arab politicians.

On the other hand unmistakeable efforts are being undertaken to remain as far as possible on the best of terms with the West, including this country.

Egypt is a case in point. In recent months President Sadat has nudged cautiously in the further direction of a diplomatic solution to the Middle East conflict, sending Soviet military advisers packing in the process – an operation fraught with risks if ever there were one.

He has probably reached the limit of what is possible in the domestic and Arab context. More – official condemnation of the terrorists, for instance – is presumably something he cannot afford to undertake at the present juncture.

Were the Sadat government to fall, the situation in the Middle East and the prospects of a political solution to the conflict with Israel being reached would be worse still. Relations between this country and the Arab world would not stand to benefit either.

The Foreign Office is well aware of this state of affairs and views neither the news that the Egyptian Foreign Minister will not for the time being be visiting Bonn nor many a menacing comment by Arab politicians as precursors of dramatic changes.

It is hoped that the economic and political interests of the Arab countries will in the final analysis tip the balance in favour of a policy of common sense.

The Foreign Office views with some anxiety the special security checks on Arabs entering and leaving the country and the stricter application of the provisions of the Aliens Act to Arabs.

The susceptible pride of many Arabs is easily hurt and they find measures of this kind barely tolerable. The risk thus remains that an emotional escalation could lead to foreign policy consequences.

As regards international moves against terrorism, this is something that Bonn will undoubtedly support, not that a great deal is expected to result.

International moves would, in any case, be no more than defensive measures, it is argued in Bonn. The political source of terrorism would remain. A political solution of the Middle East conflict is the only real way to bring about a change for the better.

The prime consideration of Bonn's Middle East policy must thus be to steer clear of anything that might render a political solution more difficult.

Both the difficult position of the Arab governments and the moral obligations towards Israel must be taken into account. This will entail a new and arduous diplomatic tight-rope walk.

Rolf Zundel

(Die Zeit, 15 September 1972)

EEC progress was not blocked at Rome

The Paris EEC summit is unlikely to mark a turning-point in the development of Western European integration such as the December 1969 Hague summit of Common Market heads of government turned out to be.

The most important item on the agenda from France's point of view, the establishment of a European Monetary Cooperation Fund as a fresh and decisive step in the direction of an economic and monetary unions that would safeguard the common agricultural market, has already been given the go-ahead by the Rome conference of EEC Foreign and Finance Ministers.

By dint of tried and trusted pressuring the French have thus succeeded in extorting from Bonn and the other Common Market countries the price on which alone they insisted in return for the possibility of French concessions on the one topic that really matters.

The key to Common Market development is not a monetary fund; it is the transfer of authority to Community bodies and the concurrent imposition of limits on national sovereignty.

Admittedly the prospects were none too rosy. At best the Common Market referendums in Denmark and Norway will have ended with a narrow majority in favour of joining the EEC. So Premiers Jens Otto Krag of Denmark and Trygve Brattell of Norway are unlikely to lend support to the desire for further integration expressed by this country, the Dutch and the Italians – always assuming the Danish and Norwegian leaders even attend the Paris summit.

It is particularly regrettable that democratisation of the EEC is being shelved. The transfer of genuine legislative powers to the European Parliament as a secondary legislative body alongside the Council of Ministers and a parliamentary say in the appointment of European Commissioners in conjunction with direct election of MPs are the main features of what is termed democratisation.

As the general public in the four new member-countries, always assuming Denmark and Norway join, will not be aware of the extent to which rulings by the Council of Ministers and the European Commission affect the political and economic life of member-countries until some months have elapsed the general trend towards democratisation of the EEC would probably have been stronger and possibly clinched matters were a summit to have been held at the end of next year.

But this is mere speculation. The fact is that the road to fresh progress was not blocked in Rome. Italy, Britain, Ireland and Norway would like to see a fund set up to bolster economically ailing regions within the Community and this desire represents another trump card Chancellor Brandt of this country can play.

Willy Brandt is going to need it to defend this country's interests too. He must, for instance, ensure that all concerned comply with Bonn's proviso that the second stage of the economic and monetary union begins in 1974 only on condition that all Common Market countries by then pursue economic policies based on stability.

The Common Market must also embark on common policies for industry, research, fuel and power and environmental protection. In next year's round of international trade and monetary talks the Common Market must also ensure, in dealings with the United States and the developing countries, that liberalisation of world trade and monetary stability are promoted and that relations with Washington are not further strained.

Yet even the establishment of a political secretariat to coordinate the foreign policies pursued by Common Market countries would seem to have been shelved in Rome as a result of France's pressure tactics.

The Paris summit is thus unlikely to produce results that might be of assistance to the Bonn government in the forthcoming general election campaign. The Opposition will of course maintain that more might have been achieved by means of delaying tactics on the monetary reserve fund but whether this is the case can hardly be proved one way or the other.

The Paris summit will be unable to resolve the dilemma of apparent national sovereignty and economic integration and concentration in Western Europe. The result will be increasing tension in member-countries threatening their democratic set-up within.

In relations with other countries the Common Market remains an economic colossus without a head. Major decisions can consequently be postponed but in the long run they cannot be avoided.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 September 1972)

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DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Indications are that Chancellor Brandt will call early elections

Munich's Olympic flame has been extinguished. So now the fire of the elections in Bonn will burn brighter and hotter. Most members of the Bundestag have not returned to the Federal capital yet, but the party leaderships are hard at work setting the points for what will probably be the last two weeks of the sixth Bundestag.

There is hardly likely to be enough time to go over all the subjects that the various parties, with a wary eye on their position in the electoral battle, consider require attention.

One problem that is bound to be dragged up by the Opposition, however, is the question of how the Munich catastrophe during the Olympic Games could have happened, who was responsible for it and what mistakes were made by whom.

This is a topic that has been forced on the Opposition more or less, since the Chancellor told a small circle of journalists sympathetic to the SPD a few days ago that he would criticise to a certain extent the attitudes of the Bavarian state government.

Now legal experts of the Opposition parties are sifting through the material concerning this tragic incident that is already to hand so that they can at least get the sad business under way by means of Questions in the Bundestag from the CDU/CSU benches.

Although all leading politicians have given reassurances that the Munich incident is to be left out of the election campaign the statements made by Willy Brandt have achieved the opposite effect. At the moment it would appear that the Bonn government is on the defensive despite the efforts made by Federal Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher on behalf of the hostages.

It is regrettable that this subject will dog the last few weeks of this Bundestag, especially as the House has some very important business to conclude before dissolution.

First of all there is the reform of pensions legislation. On this point all parties seem to be agreed that a decision should be reached before dissolution so that this country's ten million pensioners can enjoy as quickly as possible the pension increases coming to them.

Federal Labour Minister Walter Arendt has already made substantial concessions to the Opposition, since the stalemate in the Bundestag would otherwise be an insurmountable obstacle. He has accepted that pension increases should be backdated to 1 July 1972 and agreed to drop the twenty-Mark *Sockelbetrag* (basic sum) for pension increases which he had hoped to introduce.

But up till now the Opposition has not shown willing to make concessions for its part, taking the view that financial considerations make it impossible to pick out the advantages of the two differing concepts of pension reform put up by government and Opposition.

A certain amount of room for manoeuvre remains as far as the flexible retirement age is concerned. Rainer Barzel has offered to enter into discussions with Willy Brandt to discover the points on which agreement can be reached, but so far he has not received a reply from he Chancellor.

So, the "union" parties are sticking to their guns, especially as they reckon they can gain a majority in the Bundestag with them. If Karl Schiller is still not back from his holiday in South Africa by the time the crucial decision is made the Opposition would scrape home with a one-vote majority. But the CDU/CSU are not counting on this so much as the hope that certain trade unionists on the SPD/FDP benches will vote against the government's proposals.

The government obviously sees things in this light too. Thus Herbert Wehner's recent call for elections to be held "with as little delay as possible". Contrary to some reports he did not actually mention 19 November, but this is presumably the date he had in mind.

The government coalition has probably come to the conclusion that a defeat for their proposals would be worse for them than a postponement of a decision on pension reform till after the general elections.

More and more SPD members of the Bundestag are obviously of the opinion that another defeat in the House so shortly before the elections should be avoided at all costs and that the decision on pension reforms should be put off until the next Bundestag has been formed.

Since the government coalition still has a majority when it comes to points of order (since the votes of Berlin members are counted) it can prevent the amendments to pension law being discussed in this legislative period. But it is doubtful if such a move would do much for the SPD's popularity among the general public.

In fact the only outstanding legislation on which the Opposition will vote with the government is the transport agreement with the GDR. They are of the opinion that this is less a matter of human easements than of the removal of annoying disruptions. But the Opposition is not keen to stand in the way of any improvement to the present situation.

In the light of this it seems probable that Willy Brandt will introduce the confidence motion earlier than was predicted. But he is still keeping his lips sealed. The government has obviously got the impression that time is not on its side.

There would be technical difficulties involved in holding an election on 19 November. But the CDU treasurer Walther Leisler Kiep said with a smile recently than a truncated pre-election campaign would suit his party from the financial point of view.

Werner Bollmann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 September 1972)

Wehner proposes speedy dissolution of Bundestag

The Bonn government has returned in force from its exile to Munich for the Olympics and is now the centre of attention as it prepares to answer the question when it is going to go to the country.

Since April the three major parties have been arguing about whether premature general elections should be held. The Federal Chancellor would now certainly irk the public if he kept them guessing for much longer when he is going to seek a vote of confidence. For Willy Brandt alone has the power to clear obstacles from the path to elections.

But Herbert Wehner, Brandt's deputy to the party chairmanship, and, so to speak, his business affairs manager in the Bundestag, has once again been one of the first to do his thinking aloud.

Wehner is of the opinion that the Chancellor should seek a vote of confidence "with as little delay as possible". In the next sentence he mentioned the re-convening of the Bundestag on 20 September, thus implying the least possible delay.

There is a lot to suggest that Brandt will follow Wehner's suggestion. For a start it makes no difference to the lost majority in the Bundestag and the chances of gaining a majority of the electorate how long Brandt postpones the vote of confidence.

Secondly the coup de grâce for this government would be better than a protracted death determined by the electioneering tactics of the parties. Thirdly it is better to have a brand new government this year rather than next.

In the sixth Bundestag it is inescapable that the CDU and CSU will do everything in their power to bring out into the open on every conceivable occasion the fact that the SPD and FDP can no longer produce a majority. It is up to the Federal Chancellor whether this exhibition is to last a few days or drag on for weeks. His attitude in the next few weeks will determine whether the country goes to the polls to elect the seventh Bundestag in November or December.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 September 1972)

Helmut Schmidt's metamorphosis

A Finance Minister that did not keep his hands firmly on the pursestrings, especially at the moment when public bodies are crying out to spend money, would be out of place. Furthermore, how popular or otherwise he makes himself with heads of departments depends to a certain extent on the manner in which he wields the red pencil.

Helmut Schmidt, in his previous role as Minister of Defence, was one of the most generous members of the Cabinet and one who stood his ground most firmly against proposed cuts, but has quickly slipped into the shoes of his two predecessors in the two ministries.

But he is more subtle in the way he wields the red pencil and makes the cuts than was Professor Karl Schiller. In addition he has luck on his side. Schmidt is being particularly tough on his successor to the Defence Ministry. Georg Leber's spending power, if the Schmidt draft for the 1973 budget is followed, will increase by only 6.2 per cent.

All well and good. But what would Schmidt have said to such a proposal when he was Defence Minister? Some critics feel that he will go the same way as Schiller. In all probability the limitation of the net amount of government loans in 1973 to five milliard Marks is praiseworthy. And the estimations Schmidt has made of the total revenue from taxation is highly favourable.

Yet, however theoretical Schmidt may consider it the fact remains that an increase in government expenditure of 10.5 per cent to 120.5 milliard Marks – and even these figures contain a few distortions – is too high, while the increase in the real national product is as modest as it is at present.

Schmidt's draft budget for 1973 strengthens inflationary forces. Agreed, he never did promise to give us stabilisation. He is a quite honourable man, though he is slowly coming to realise that being honourable is sometimes detrimental. If Schmidt has deduced that stability has no chance he is up the creek. But the basic affirmation of tax increases in 1973 – not a vote-catching statement – seems to point in the other direction.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 September 1972)

Parties agree about election financing

If the signs are not deceptive the parties represented in the Bundestag will soon be coming to an agreement on details of the next election campaign. The agreement will not be any more difficult than in previous election battles.

None of the parties involved seems prepared to make any compromise that could be of benefit to its opponents and so the common denominator that is reached will have to be one that is convenient for all concerned.

Although the main subject of conversation will be how costs can be kept to a minimum this is really illusory. For the limitations set in the agreement correspond almost exactly to the amount of money the three parties have agreed that they can afford, anyway, for their election campaigning.

In addition to this the agreement reached by the three parties will only affect the amount allocated by the central offices of the parties, so it will be an easy matter to circumvent the provisions of the agreement by stepping up the amount of money spent on the election campaign in the various constituencies. So in the end it seems clear that each party will be able to spend as much on its electioneering as it has available or considers appropriate.

There should be no objection to the parties going on such a spending spree as long as they do not simply spend the money that comes in to them from public supporters, but also take material risks on their own account.

From this aspect too we must ask the question whether at least the other reason given for coming to an agreement on campaigning, namely that it is intended to avoid offshoots of political conflicts, is really watertight.

Now we know that precisely when an election campaign is under way many politicians are not too cautious in their choice of words. But in this case the only evasive action that can be intended is in the case of libellous and defamatory utterances, where speedy and effective action is called for.

In such circumstances legal bodies should act with the utmost alacrity, lack of prejudice and effectiveness, moreso in fact than the parties themselves which have come up with the idea of a court of arbitration for this purpose. (Following the dissolution of the Bundestag most members lose their 'diplomatic' immunity).

Nevertheless the institutionalisation of a discussion panel for this purpose still represents the strongest point in favour of an election agreement. Thus the creation of the possibility of debating the rules for conducting this campaign could contribute towards making the pre-election battle more matter-of-fact and less of a slanging match.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 13 September 1972)

■ BONN

Bundestag dissolution means shelving many reforms

Most of the politicians who have left the Social Democrat and Free Democrat camp during the discussion of the government's Ostpolitik and joined the ranks of the CDU or CSU claim that their switch is connected with the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties.

They may not have caused this aspect of foreign policy to fail nor brought about the government's downfall but they have managed to rob the Brandt-Scheel government of its majority in the Bundestag.

In view of this stalemate the Bundestag is unable to make any important decisions that are controversial. If the Bundestag is dissolved within the next few weeks to give voters the chance of deciding who is to rule them, a large number of laws, including reforms of immense importance for the social development of the Federal Republic, will not pass committee stage. The turncoats will not have stopped the government's Ostpolitik – but they will have caused the downfall of an important part of its reform policy.

Apart from the 1972 Budget and pensions reform, the legislative tasks of the sixth Bundestag is as good as finished. The only thing of importance when the committees resume their work and the Bundestag officially ends its summer recess will be the jockeying for good positions to start the election campaign. Any Bills remaining will be destined for the wastepaper basket.

The constitutional principle of discontinuity between legislative periods states explicity that every Bundestag must start its legislative work anew. Old Bills cannot be submitted in the next legislative period. If they are to be retained unchanged they must go through all the legislative machinery again, a process that can take years.

Almost all ministries and parties are affected by this ruling. Government Bills come to a standstill along with those of the Opposition and the Bundesrat, or Upper House. There are in all 169 Bills that will not progress further through parliamentary procedure.

This figure gives no indication of the importance of some of the proposed changes of law that will not survive the sixth Bundestag. It is not only reforms that are affected but also minor amendments that have little influence on the domestic policy situation.

The fact that legal affairs and welfare policy is particularly affected gives food for thought. The dissolution of the Bundestag will mean the end of a large number of long overdue laws intended to provide more social justice and equality of opportunity.

Divorce law reform, abortion law reform, sexual offences law reform, penal reform and the move to reduce the age of majority to eighteen will all come to a standstill.

Three Bills are at present in the pipeline dealing with abortion law reform, which particularly affects women from low-income groups. There is the official government Bill listing a number of conditions under which an abortion may be granted, a Bill by Social Democrat and Free Democrat members demanding that abortions should be legalised during the first three months of pregnancy and a third Bill proposing that the costs of an abortion should be covered by medical insurance schemes. Discussions on the subject were conducted with great bitterness on all sides.

Discussions about the "university framework law" have been equally as bitter. It could have already been passed but for the opposition of the CDU/CSU. The imaginative Education and Science Minister Klaus von Dohnanyi has been unable to prevent this regrettable state of affairs despite all he has done to obtain a compromise on the issue.

The university framework law demonstrates that the central government, with its limited jurisdiction in matters of education, is powerless to act if the Federal states do not cooperate. Even if the law passes through the Bundestag it will not be approved by the Bundesrat where the CDU/CSU are in the majority.

In view of this situation it is impossible to introduce a law for which the Constitutional Court considers the central

Süddeutsche Zeitung

government responsible. The Court has demanded fairer and standardised admission regulations for universities.

Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher will also have to abandon some of his projects. The Bundestag no longer has the time to pass laws on noise abatement and air pollution.

The new conservation law put forward by the Ministry of Agriculture and two amendments to the water supply laws will also fall victim to the stalemente in Bonn. As these reform projects are mainly concerned with the quality of life in industrial conurbations, their at least temporary abandonment affects all those people who are unable to afford villas or weekend houses in a quiet and unpolluted environment. The new food laws will also have to be abandoned when the Bundestag is dissolved.

Nobody in Bonn dares forecast what will happen to the first SPD-FDP coalition's plans for tax reform, especially those parts already completed, once the elections are over.

Udo Bergdoll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 September 1972)

Issue of Bundestag members' interests re-erupts

Contracts engaging Bundestag members as advisers have been discussed regularly since the Geldner affair and have once again come into ill-repute as a result of the strange association between State Secretaries Joachim Raffert, a Social Democrat, and Wolfram Dorn, a Free Democrat, and the Bauer publishing concern that eventually led to their resignation.

Some one hundred young Bundestag members had already declared voluntarily that they would reveal any contracts as adviser that they signed. They wanted to set a good example but few politicians followed their lead. Plans for an obligatory declaration of interests have been in mothballs ever since.

As long as members of the Bundestag are not banned by law from taking up an economic or professional post – and this measure could have a boomerang effect for parliamentarianism – the parties have held this to be a moral issue. A matter of honour therefore? It is understandable that the parties shun such a high-falutin' term for what is really a matter-of-course duty.

The Bundestag Presidium and the individual parties want to discuss the issue when the Bundestag next meets. But little more than a statement of intention for the next legislative period will result as a general election is approaching.

If the Bundestag as a whole is unable to reach a joint solution because of the differing state of affairs in each of the parties represented in Bonn, the CDU/CSU, SPD and FDP could all issue their own rulings.

Those responsible for drawing up a new ruling of this type would have to take account of a number of differing demands. The prime factor is the wish of the public and the party leadership itself to know exactly what is happening in its ranks. All interests must be revealed to party leaders if not to the Bundestag President.

It must also be considered that contracts engaging members of the Bundestag as advisers are not the only form of economic and financial interest that a politician may have. Outside interests could also appear in the guise of fees, salaries, appointments or pensions granted by a large firm or organisation.

The demand for a truthful and complete declaration of the professional and private activities of Bundestag handbook has been raised in vain for a number of years. General and often long out-of-date professional designations such as manager or worker does not serve the voters' legitimate need for information.

Parties do not consider that their members' links with large groups and organisations will always be morally indefensible cases of profiteering, especially when they are declared.

They welcome the fact that members of the Bundestag introduce the specialist knowledge and interests of their firms or organisations into the process of parliamentary decision-making.

This also works the other way round. It is thought possible that the firms and organisations that engage members of the Bundestag as advisers will be encouraged to understand that their interests may be subordinate to major political necessities.

Dieter von König

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 September 1972)

Voters should have a greater sense of involvement

Elections are still three months away but two thirds of the future members of the Bundestag are now being selected without the voter having any influence on the decision at all.

In a large proportion of constituencies it is already possible to say who will be the winning candidate. These seats are so dominated by one party that the appointment of a candidate is tantamount to a ticket to Bonn.

Political parties also know with a fair degree of certainty how many seats they will be awarded under the system of proportional representation. Any politician who has elbowed himself into one of the leading positions on the list can also book his quarters in Bonn.

Voters will be able to decide on the remaining one third when they are called to the polls on 3 December or whenever the election takes place. This means they only have a restricted say in the composition of the next Bundestag.

Its composition therefore depends mainly on the parties. They decide whether the Bundestag will contain enough knowledgeable men and women who can be trusted to solve efficiently the problems facing them in the next four years.

But a look at the way candidates are selected will prompt grave doubts. Political competency seems to play a far more minor role than other factors when the parties draw up their proportional representation lists for the various Federal states.

First position is regularly occupied by a politician thought to attract voters. A woman candidate has to figure among the next three or four places so that female voters do not feel neglected. If the Christian Democrats include a manufacturer among their top four of five, a representative of the trade union wing must also be included.

The Churches have also to be considered and there must be some regional balance between the various parts of the Federal state. Once these criteria have been satisfied, there is little room for the question of political competence.

There are other difficulties in the constituencies. While the party leadership was once able to influence the selection of candidates, at least here and there, local party committees now usually resist any external pressure. Prospective candidates have to secure approval at local level.

Fortunately, few candidates are undisputed along the lines of: We've got our man in Bonn and he should continue to represent us there. Party youth organisations have normally brought a wind of change into the meetings held to select a candidate. Though their candidate may rarely be convincing, they at least prompt lively discussion.

But there are still too many cases governed by inertia. Even if a politician may not have been all that valuable a Bundestag member, he is often retained as a candidate because of a number of advantages he may have gained for his constituency in the course of his four years in Bonn.

Selection normally lies in the hands of a small group of party members, usually local branch delegates, who often reach their decisions behind locked doors.

In the long run it will be necessary to break the parties' monopolies as far as selection of candidates is concerned. The simplest solution would be for the parties to introduce their candidates to the public at meetings where at least test votes could be organised.

If the press reported fully about the events at such meetings, the parties could be forced in a number of cases to make allowances for the public feeling arising from them.

Voters would no longer have the feeling that their only democratic duty was to go to their local polling station every four years and put their cross against the name of a man without knowing why he was adopted candidate.

Putting this or a similar idea into practice would show whether the parties only pay lip service to democracy or really do believe that their voters are politically mature.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 September 1972)

■ INTER GERMAN RELATIONS

Division is sealed as reality replaces hope

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

The question of recognising the German Democratic Republic or not has flared up again though it will soon be extinguished. Neutral European countries such as Finland, Sweden and Switzerland - and probably some other States too – are preparing to grant the GDR full diplomatic recognition.

Some countries are going about this via a number of small intermediate stages that Bonn would once have considered a betrayal of its interests. Other countries will one day present the Federal government with a fait accompli. The question now is whether that is really any great tragedy.

This question can only be answered by going right back to the beginning. In 1949 the Federal Republic had good cause not to recognise the newly-established German Democratic Republic.

This State was not set up according to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of people who were to live in it – and at that time a plebiscite in West Germany might not have resulted in a clear majority for the foundation of the Federal Republic either.

Not recognising the GDR was a protest against the doubtless violation of the right of self-determination. The GDR was little more than a front for Soviet rule in this part of Germany and protest was appropriate.

Non-recognition also had a practical political import. In 1949 and for many years afterwards it was possible to hope with a great degree of optimism that the four powers responsible for Germany as a whole would one day reach an agreement.

Reunification was not to fail because a handful of Communists in East Berlin wanted to retain their command over part of Germany at all costs. The four powers were not to have their hands tied. The non-recognition of the GDR on the part of the Federal Republic was tantamount to its non-recognition by the three Western powers.

A lot has changed in the meantime. It can no longer be said that the GDR is no more than a front for Soviet rule. The GDR has consolidated itself as a State and has even attained a certain degree of self-awareness.

There is no reliable guide about how the majority of the inhabitants of the GDR view their State. Many of them would probably prefer to up roots right away and move to the Federal Republic.

There is no longer any suggestion that the four powers could one day reach a joint settlement re-establishing German unity under a libertarian, democratic system above the heads of the rulers of the GDR.

A number of reasons for not recognising the GDR no longer exist therefore. The Federal government itself has repeatedly stated that both German States should become United Nations members. When this happens, perhaps next year as UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim believes, the GDR will have been given full diplomatic recognition.

The three Western powers would also grant the GDR their recognition on such an occasion though they would attach the proviso that their special rights concerning Germany as a whole should continue, especially where Berlin and the access routes to the city are concerned.

It is only the Federal Republic itself that does not wish to grant full diplomatic recognition. There are good reasons for this and they are not only contained in Basic Law.

But non-recognition of the GDR on the part of the Federal Republic would have only one meaning – it would be an expression of the standpoint that the *German nation* is unwilling to accept for all time the existing form of State partition.

In this situation there are few good reasons for other States to refuse the GDR the recognition it so much desires. Only consideration for the Federal Republic can stop them – and perhaps in the case of politically extremely prudent governments the realisation that it is also in their interest for a sensible political order to be established in Central Europe.

An indispensable minimum of agreements between the two German States belongs to this sensible political order. It is therefore understandable that the Federal government is asking other States to delay their recognition for the GDR until the necessary intra-German treaties have been concluded. A lot will have been achieved if this request is respected for a little while longer.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 3 September 1972)

A million West Berliners crossed the Wall in the past three months

About one million West Berliners have visited East Berlin or the German Democratic Republic since the visiting regulations took effect three months ago.

A spokesman for the Berlin Senate stated that some 415,000 applications for visits had been made during the three months to the five responsible GDR bureaux in West Berlin alone.

The visiting regulations had proved efficient on the whole, he stated, but the Senate would continue looking for improvements.

A total of 150 complaints have been made since the agreement took effect three months ago. The spokesman stated that the majority of them had been cleared up in the contacts between the Senate and the GDR.

A further improvement in visiting regulations for West Berliners took effect from 7 August. Since that date applications for visits, even for purposes of tourism, have been granted after a period of four hours. Directly after the original agreement took effect the procedure took several days.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 September 1972)

GDR tightens up border regulations

New regulations on security in the frontier areas and territorial waters of the German Democratic Republic have now come into force. The new law signed by Defence Minister Hoffmann and Minister of the Interior Dickel consists of 64 articles and replaces a series of regulations previously governing the frontier security of the GDR.

Article Two states that the unlawful exchange of news or objects and the establishment of other links with people over the State frontier are banned. The ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) has therefore stopped inhabitants of the GDR from waving across the border. This could easily be construed as "establishing other links with people over the State frontier" and penalised. The new law does not state the penalties for violating these regulations.

The use of arms is still only mentioned indurectly. Article 62 on the powers of the border guards states that the use of firearms by members of the frontier troops is only admissible under the relevant military regulations issued by the Minsiter of National Defence. These regulations are not published.

Physical force is permitted by the new law when opposition is shown to members of the GDR frontier troops ans other means are not sufficient to prevent serious consequences for security and order in the frontier area.

But all measures undertaken by the border guards must stand in the right proportion to the type and seriousness of the offence and resistance. Article 56 states that the use of arms is only allowed to prevent flight or violence or when physical force does not lead to success.

The border area with the Federal Republic will continue to consist of a restricted zone and a "protective strip" containing the security installations. There is no longer any written ordinance that the restricted zone must be five kilometres wide and the protective strip five hundred metres. Instead the new law states that the protective strip and the restricted zone should be disposed according to requirements and considering local conditions.

Restaurants, cinemas, sanatoria and hotels in the protective strip remain closed under the new frontier laws. Hunting weapons, ammunition, explosives and poisonous pesticides or insecticides must not be stored in the frontier area.

No new buildings may be constructed there nor existing buildings extended. Farm and forestry work may only be conducted between one hour after sunrise and one hour before sunset.

Inhabitants of communities in the protective strip may not leave their homes between eleven o'clock at night and five o'clock in the morning except for professional and social reasons including for example party meetings. Visits may not be receieved during the curfew period.

All citizens of the GDR who live within the protective strip and restricted zone along the frontier with the Federal Republic and West Berlin must have this fact specially mentioned in their identity papers.

Persons living outside the frontier area but working within it and those living within the restricted zone but working in the protective strip need a stamp of approval in their papers.

Inhabitants living outside the frontier area and wishing to enter the restricted zone for private or professional reasons have to obtain a pass.

The new frontier laws envisage tough measures against violations of the marine frontier and attempts to flee the country by crossing the Baltic. "The responsible protection and security organs have the right in GDR territorial waters to stop any ship and examine the ship's papers and bills of lading, control passengers and crew and search the load and cabins," the law states.

A ship can be stopped and accompanied into a port in the GDR if it violates valid regulations by picking up or setting down persons or establishing contacts with the coast or islands of the GDR or with other sea vessels for unlawful purposes.

Foreign ships can also be pursued on international waters if the chase has begun within GDR territorial waters. The chase will not be suspended until the ship has reached its own territorial waters or those of a third country.

Militärwesen, a magazine issued by the GDR Defence Ministry, recently claimed that the Federal Republic had increased its "provocative harassment" in GDR waters. More and more yachts, fishing-boats and ships of the merchant marine were violating the GDR's territorial limits, the magazine asserted. This was obviously meant to test the reliability and efficiency of GDR border security, it added.

Referring to the question of armed force, the military periodical stated that weapons should be used with extreme caution when pursuing ships on the high seas. It was not to be generally opposed however especially if there were no other means of bringing the pursued ship to a halt.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 September 1972)

Customs barriers come down

In recent months the new leaders of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) have repeatedly indicated that they are serious in their intention of making the lives of people in the German Democratic Republic easier, whatever their reason may be.

The considerable increase in goods allowed duty-free into the GDR, announced with immediate effect by the GDR Ministry of Foreign Trade, will also benefit people in the GDR.

As welcome as more coffee, chocolate and cigarettes may be, a more important feature of the new ruling is the increase in the amount of gifts that visitors may bring.

Visitors staying a minimum of five days will be able to import goods worth up to five hundred GDR Marks while those on shorter visits will be allowed to bring in one hundred Marks worth of gifts duty-free for every day they plan to stay.

This increase in the amount of gifts that can be taken into the GDR duty-free will enable visitors from the other part of Germany to provide real help and carry in with them the many items needed for day-to-day living ranging from woollen underwear and shoes to wallpaper, which is hard to find, and spare parts for motor vehicles.

Scaling down customs barriers is not only of direct importance to the people themselves. It also indicates that the GDR is still interested in creating the basis for peaceful coexistence and carrying out the promises it made months ago.

Though it has been said more than once, it must be repeated yet again – it is only the policies of the Brandt-Scheel government that have made these improvements possible. Nothing is self-evident in intra-German relations. To make the self-evident possible will still take hard and patient negotiating.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 September 1972)

■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Domestic reforms de-emphasised in Schmidt's 1973 draft budget

Federal Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt has described the 1972 budget as a "bridge to stability". As far as the 1973 budget, for which he has just completed the "framework" and basic estimates, is concerned he has obviously not yet found a suitable name.

Will he call it the "budget of stability" if the SPD/FDP coalition wins the election and sticks by the values he has set? There seems little to suggest that this will be the case.

The first limitation to be taken into account is that the role of government spending in stabilisation policies, that is to say in fighting inflation, has been overestimated often enough.

If former Finance Minister Franz Josef Strauss now stated that the government is obviously failing to use the budget in the fight against inflation he could be countered by one or two sentences from his party colleague Manfred Schäfer, the Saarland Economic Affairs Minister. They are in a book that has thus been published by this CDU politician.

He states that there is doubt whether the budget can be made to do all that is expected of it. "An anti-cyclical fiscal policy concentrating only on the expenditure side" would fail because of the lack of funds available for his purpose. In other words public expenditure is so controlled by law that very little remains to be manipulated for other purposes.

Schmidt's draft budget for 1973 is over 120 milliard Marks, 10.5 per cent up on the current year, which corresponds to the estimated growth in national productivity, although this includes five to six per cent eaten away by inflation. Thus the government is hanging on to the rope of ballooning prices and being carried up with them.

Bonn is striving, as Schmidt's document states, "to dampen down prices over the economy as a whole" while at the same time increasing public works. Someone should set this to music.

This is not the only objection that can be brought against the draft. Like any budget it entails risks, but they are on this occasion greater than normal. The dissolution of the Bundestag means that one or two matters of detail are left outstanding. The next government, whatever colour it may be, does not need to follow the draft to the letter. Even if the SPD/FDP win the general election they can make many changes. Furthermore the outcome of the talks among members of the civil service cannot be predicted accurately. Certain items can prove more expensive than originally gauged.

Despite these reservations the Schmidt draft is not simply a creation based on the principle of *après nous le déluge*. This also applies to finance planning which is now to be extended to take in up to 1976.

Franz Josef Strauss has demanded once again that the government produce "a complete finance plan for the years up to 1976" but this kind of argumentation does become somewhat monotonous in the long run. It is not sufficient to keep calling for new figures and then to complain when they appear that they are not complete and not accurate.

During the talks on the budget with his Cabinet colleagues Schmidt obviously cut back some of their more extravagant demands to a reasonable level, which seems to have been easier to achieve on this occasion than in the past when forthcoming elections have been the main concern.

And the Federal minister responsible for finances is at least on the spot ready to counter the erroneous idea that the State is on the verge of bankruptcy and that the government must make excessive demands of citizens. There can be no question of this. Anyway, the idea of a chaotic financial situation never really was appreciated by the man in the street.

Helmut Schmidt's way of expressing himself is subdued. The expression 'domestic reforms' does not appear in his draft at all. He simply says that on the basis of the new financial planning certain ventures could be started and others could be continued, ventures that were not possible under previous planning. In this respect he mentions internal security, Ruhrkohle (the coalmining combine), agriculture, transport, defence and education.

This is a sober catalogue which no longer smacks of the lavish promises made in the 1969 government statement. Schmidt is most cautious when it is a question of raising hopes.

The aim of stabilisation nonetheless is postponed to an indefinite future. The Federal government is now making new moves within the EEC. It is turning its attention to joint efforts by European banks of issue to keep the volume of

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

money in circulation under control, but is also considering a policy of urging EEC countries to budget for stabilisation.

The attempt to draw banks of issue closer together should not be taken as an effort by the government to pass the buck so that it can go on making its own spending plans untramelled. Stability is something that can only be achieved by approaching it from different directions – from Europe is one possibility.

Nothing definite can yet be said about the contribution to be made to stability by the 1973 budget draft and as far as Europe is concerned we can take it as a modest step in the right direction that stability is a theme that is once again coming to the fore.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 September 1972)

Helmut Schmidt's draft budget is reasonable

With greater alacrity than might have been expected after the departure of Professor Karl Schiller the successor to the Federal Economic Affairs and Finance Ministry, Helmut Schmidt, has produced his skeleton plan for the 1973 budget, a draft that will stand up to the expected surveillance and criticism with confidence.

Despite the fact that the Schmidt draft prepares for a budget of 120.4 milliard Marks one should not fall into the trap of trotting out trite statements about a record-breaker. After all every budget since 1949 has broken the previous record. Revenue and expenditure have risen constantly each year.

It would be far more useful to concentrate on the relevance of this budget in the light of the present state of industry and the economy.

With government borrowing of 4 milliard Marks, a figure that would not have been considered possible in Schiller's heyday, the 1973 budget can be balanced. As a result of the favourable amount of revenue it can be assumed that the amount of demand created by government spending and thus putting pressure on interest rates will be extenuated. The rate of increase in the budget as a whole of about 10.5 per cent says nothing of the efforts Schmidt and the rest of the Cabinet have made to construct a budget that reacts far more to the pressures of the economy than has been the case with previous budgets in previous years.

The rates of increase in the various ministries and departments with their differing expenditure and its varying effect on growth lead to the conclusion that in 1973 Bonn will at least try to show consideration as a creator of demand on the marjet for goods and services. Viewed from this aspect the skeleton budget drawn up by Helmut Schmidt can be seen to be reasonable.

Karl Tiggs

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 September 1972)

Tokyo's 'orderly marketing' has hidden dangers

In the international trade policy debates of recent months the Japanese have introduced a new catchphrase. They speak of "orderly marketing" and mean a self-limitation agreement for exports. The Japanese boom of the sixties has given rise to fears in many countries that the industrious island race could achieve such successes with their export drive that whole branches of industry in the countries importing their goods could be wiped out.

America felt the effects of Japanese competition particularly, for about one third of Japanese exports go to the United States alone. Among the main items on this export list have been textiles.

The United States applied great pressure last year and Washington and Tokyo finally arrived at the self-limitation agreement for certain textiles. The Japanese government agreed that in future it would adhere to firmly limited growth rates in its exports to the USA.

This obviously gave Japanese economic strategists quite a shock. After years of unhindered booming business they were suddenly afraid that this self-limitation agreement would become the thing of the day and just be the thin end of the wedge. So they had to alter their strategy.

A delegation from the industrial association Keidanren visited several European capitals in the autumn of 1971 and praised their trade policies as being in fine fettle. The Japanese leaders of industry promised that in the case of "disruption of the market" in certain branches of the economy they would tie chains to their own industries by fixing minimum prices or maximum quantities for exports in order to spare themselves a worse fate, namely defensive measures applied by purchasing countries.

The aims of the Japanese in this respect are quite clear. They want to keep control themselves and guarantee continued good business on vital markets over the long term.

If this concept were to gain ground – and certain facts suggest it will – matters concerning not only competitiveness but also trading policies will be thrown up. It should not be forgotten that the gradual opening up of frontiers by means of the breakdown of customs and quantitative barriers after the Second World War has given rise to a development in world trade that has exceeded all expectations and been to the benefit of consumers in that it has brought a far greater variety of goods to the shelves of stores.

The eighty member countries of the General Agreement in Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) agreed in the course of numerous and occasionally nerve-racking talks, such as the spectacular Kennedy Round in the sixties, to step-by-step lowering of customs barriers, and at the same time removed to differing degrees the quantitative limitation to imports.

Certainly as far as Gatt rules are concerned no country still has a clean sheet. But what has been decisive is that the trend has been in the right direction.

This could change if the self-limitation of exports idea really catches on. In the efforts so far made by the Japanese we have had just a little foretaste of what might be to come. The Japanese exporters association has, as far as we know, agreed with its members so far to the limitation of exportation of cassette tape recorders, black-and-white TV sets and pocket calculators. Minimum prices must be adhered to and additionally in the case of pocket calculators there is a limitation in quantity of exports.

Furthermore exporters are not permitted to deal with more than one importer in any one country and the importers have to be registered with the association.

In addition the Japanese Ministry for International Trade and Industry (Miti) has had an "Orderly Marketing Maintenance Committee" for some time now. Thus the concept developed by the Japanese industries association has received official blessing.

When one considers that in addition in Japan the exportation of all produce can be made subject to approval it is clear that the government and industry, Miti and Keidanren could guide this development hand in hand. No outsider has any real chance of doing much about decisions made by the associations and the "recommendations" of the government.

No wonder Bonn is following this development with the utmost concern. The oft-quoted "free play of forces" seems played out is these practices spread like a net over all branches and all countries.

On the other hand the Federal Republic – more, perhaps, than any other EEC country – has an interest in seeing that distortions of international competitiveness should be warded off before they get beyond their initial stages, since the FRG's importation policy is more liberal than that of its EEC partners in practice even if not on paper.

An example from the textiles industry to which many others from other branches could be added: Of EEC imports in 1971 the Federal Republic took eighty per cent from Hong Kong, per cent from Japan, 78 per cent from Yugoslavia and about 65 per cent from the East Bloc countries as a whole.

Liberalisation is not something this country just talks about. If manipulation of international trade gained the upper hand a country such as the Federal Republic would initially be in a very difficult position, since it would become the target of Japanese export drives.

"Self-limitation agreements" for televisions and tape-recorders are of no interest to Paris and Rome since they are covered by contingency agreements on a

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■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

East-West economic cooperation makes slow but sure progress

Smoke signals seen in the eastern skies give rise to hopes. Economic possibilities are being opened up more frequently than anyone dared to believe in the past. But trade with the East is still hampered by the straitjacket of State-controlled economies, which also hamper attempts at cooperation because these are viewed as a step towards liberalisation.

At the Leipzig fair firms from the Federal Republic have once again been the main exhibitors. At the Brno machinery and machine tools fair representatives of this country's industry and their business partners are doing their best to check a decline in turnover.

At Brno as at Leipzig there have been, as GDR Foreign Minister Sölle put it, "further important moves towards the development of fruitful economic cooperation between States". The main emphasis of GDR foreign trade will remain with the Soviet Union. There does not seem to be any indication at Leipzig that business deals with the West will be developed greatly. Excessive hopes are just illusory.

Still, this tendency is less marked in other East Bloc countries. Poland and Rumania, to name just two, have boosted their machinery industries thanks to substantial help given them by Federal Republic contacts. In several cases the firms that forged these contacts in the first place are now supplying machinery to the Federal Republic under licences granted by this country. Rumania for instance is producing woodworking machinery for export to this country under licence, since the Federal Republic firm concerned has gone in for greater specialisation. The main theme when talk turns to cooperation is the MAN agreement, which has been in existence for three years.

This puts licences and know-how at the disposal of East Bloc countries for the production of lorries. For the moment Rumania is producing spares worth ten million Marks approximately, every year.

Later on the Rumanians will manufacture complete lorries. In many cases where there are supplies of parts those concerned are not over-keen to publicise the business. For some years Franz Kirchfeld has been having colour televisions built in Rumania with tubes manufactured in the Federal Republic.

The more relaxed Yugoslav system is particularly suitable for all kinds of cooperation ranging from simple processing for an agreed sum to actual capital investment in the form of mixed companies. About forty per cent of the cooperative ventures Yugoslavia has embarked on since 1967 have been production agreements with Federal Republic partners.

Now cooperation in the Third World should help to make Yugoslavia's role as a "key country" in the Federal Republic economy more solid. Everywhere there is keenness to secure the Federal Republic as a partner. It is not just coincidence that the Federal Republic always has one of the strongest contingents at fairs in the East Bloc.

The Federal Republic Chambers of Trade and Commerce (DIHT) have added a Federal Republic-Poland liaison system to their bureau for cooperation. Later similar systems are to be set up for the other East Bloc States. The DIHT has drawn up a report containing its collected experiences in dealing with Polish partners and the organisational course of contact with Poland in the minutest details.

In a recent round of talks with Soviet ambassador Valentin Falin Federal Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt discussed the results of a Federal Republic-Soviet study group for cooperation. Not a great deals is likely to emerge from this link, since Moscow acts as a superpower with its own ideas about trade and development policies when dealing about trade and development policies when dealing with third party countries.

Russia wants to appear as a clear-cut entity in the Third World and underline this appearance with go-it-alone projects. But other socialist countries hope that by means of cooperation they will boost their political and economic positions not only in the Third World but also in their relationship to Big Brother. Greater room for manoeuvre where foreign exchange is concerned will also increase the political radius of action.

The main difficulty in attempts to cooperate on outside markets is the lack of understanding of those markets. Such is the administrative setup in the East Bloc that even Federal Republic markets are difficult to understand. The Russians managed to overcome this in splendid style, however, and twice during a recession in this country they managed to conclude a deal on pipelines on very favourable terms from their point of view

But when a Federal Republic company wants to cooperate with, say, a Yugoslav or Hungarian partner in building a cement plant or sugar factory in a developing country the firm must know exactly what its East Bloc partner can supply, what its technical capacities are and how much know-how it has at its disposal.

And a more detailed knowledge of the state of the market in the developing country is absolutely essential. What is planned there and how can this country be most helpful? Representatives of firms and organisations thus find themselves with very important jobs to do.

Political detente such as Bonn is striving for requires an end to the present bloc thinking. Ever new ways of organising fruitful cooperation must be found. They can be boosted by suitable financing arrangements, such as when Federal Republic capital finances cooperation in a developing country.

How different the Middle East politics of recent years would have been if Russians and Germans had worked together on the building of the Aswan High Dam. At the forthcoming European security conference the relaxation of tension via economic cooperation that is to be seen on the horizon must not be overlooked. On the contrary, we must all work to sweep away the obstacles that remain.

Joseph Maria Hunck

(Handelsblatt, 5 September 1972)

Recognition would shut EEC backdoor to GDR

At the Leipzig autumn fair 1972 representatives of the GDR have said time and again that they want relationships with capitalist States and above all the Federal Republic "on the basis of the norms of international law".

The GDR is striving for full recognition; "special relations" with the Federal Republic would be considered unsatisfactory. The present *Warenverkehr* between the GDR and the Federal Republic is, however, based on the existence of such "special relations" that have been laid down in a section of the EEC treaty.

What members of the party and State leadership of the GDR had to say in Leipzig about the recognition of the State in international law did not touch upon the economic consequences at all. There was no official statement from which one might have gained the impression that the GDR does not expect the advantages that would accrue in trade with the Federal Republic to be very great and is thus prepared to renounce them.

On the other hand the question of how the advantageous "special relations" in trade could be kept open if the GDR should demand, normal inter-State relations with the Federal Republic was left unanswered.

In a protocol to the EEC treaty the Six agreed in 1957 that so-called inter-German trade should be regarded as a *deutsche Angelegenheit*. The application of the EEC treaty in the Federal Republic should *not* therefore do anything to alter this trade setup.

Indeed trade between the FRG and GDR is handled in a different from manner from, say, trade between the GDR and France or Italy. France regards the GDR as a "third party country" not belonging to the EEC with all the consequences that must be drawn from such a relationship. The protocol makes different provisions for the Federal Republic and Bonn is interested in keeping things that way.

Trade between the GDR and this country is formally and factually *domestic trade*. It is not in any way hindered by the EEC customs and skim-off regulations. Goods produced in the GDR and imported to this country receive moreover the so-called *Freiverkehrsbescheinigung* and can thus be *passed on to other EEC countries without an import surcharge* because they are German goods. Furthermore imports from the GDR are given preferential treatment from the point of view of *turnover tax*.

It is difficult to say what the actual advantage is in terms of hard cash, but according to all the calculations the preferential treatment has had a lot to do with the increase in the trade volume that has been noted for some years now. Although the Federal Republic still exports more to the GDR than it imports from it its imports are continuing to increase and the "special conditions" with regard to the Federal Republic's membership of the Common Market play an important role in this.

Still other countries have for some years criticised the fiction of "inner-German" trade, which is more and more taking on the compexion of normal foreign trading. And the State leadership of the GDR does not shy away from giving support to these critics by handling this "inner-German" trade through its *Aussenwirtschaftsministerium* (Foreign Trade Ministry).

Is the protocol to the EEC treaty, at the time one of this country's conditions for entry, now outmoded? Are the critics right when they complain that far more goods are exported by the GDR to this country than we require so that they can be filtered to the rest of the Common Market? Some doubt surrounds these allegations. They cannot exactly be provęd nor disproved.

But we must note that so far the *governments* of other EEC States have not joined the ranks of the critics. But we must reckon with this problem being brought up at some time in the future when other battles over European policies are being fought.

There is no doubt about the Bonn government's attitude. Bonn has done nothing in the past to change the status quo and does not want to take action in the future. Bonn has no interest in seeing the GDR turned into any old third party country outside the EEC. The transit agreement for West Berlin traffic and the general transport treaty — as Bonn points out — make no *provisions* that in anyway run contrary to the supplementary clause in the EEC treaty.

The GDR signed these treaties, but this should not be taken as an indication that it would agree to a similar regulation in a basic treaty. The treaties, after all, brought the GDR closer to full recognition.

As far as the basic treaty desired by the GDR is concerned this would have to bring the process of recognition to a satisfactory conclusion, namely bringing a normalisation of relations between the two Germanies while at the same time confirming complete demarcation.

This would have to render the supplementary clause to the EEC treaty null and void. The GDR would be bound to become "any old third party country", with all the consequences this would bring for its socialist brother countries as well. Are they prepared to take this into account?

Hans Ulrich Spree

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 September 1972)

Continued from page 6

national level. For Benelux countries Japan brought an export cartel into operation on 1 August at the request of Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

Bonn on the other hand, in a memo to the monopolies commission in West Berlin, declared that self-limitation agreements are "from the point of view of economic policy basically undesirable".

The attitude of EEC partner countries could hardly be more diverse. However, they have all to a large extent handed over their competence in matters of trade policy to Brussels. But now can Brussels hope to crystallise out anything like a common attitude from so many diverse vested interests?

The much quoted truism that the correct attitude is to steer a middle course is of little help in this respect. Brussels' negotiations with Tokyo on a trade agreement have been deadlocked for almost two years, since the Japanese are not keen to have a bilateral protective clause in the agreement and are talking in terms of an international protective clause.

This is not tantamount to a new wave of protectionism — in fact quite the opposite. But if on the import side the Japanese are uncommunicative over the application of administrative trade barriers and protectionist tricks while on the export side the government and industry have got together to pursue a policy of conquest of markets at any price the time has come when frank talking alone is no longer enough.

Heinz Heck

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 September 1972)

■ INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Rhine-Main-Danube canal is almost ready for operations

Nuremberg and the industrial region of Central Franconia are at long last linked to the inland waterways network. Barges from Nuremberg docks can now chug their way to the Main, the Rhine, the North Sea and the Baltic.

The Port of Nuremberg is the end of the line for the time being only, though. It will soon be merely a through port along the major inland waterways link between the Rhine, Main and Danube. The Rhine-Main-Danube Canal is swiftly progressing towards the Danube and Regensburg, the northernmost port in a network that extends from Bavaria to the Black Sea.

In the foreseeable future Nuremberg, once the crossroads of trade between Europe and the East, will be able to look back on its present backwater location and forward to a larger trading role reminiscent of days of old.

The Nuremberg docks are due to be inaugurated on 23 September. In the port area the canal has been widened 25 metres and viewed from on high the wider canal, the entrance to the docks and the docks themselves as yet look like three gigantic mirrors inlaid in reddish sand by an invisible hand.

Viewed from on high the cranes do not convey an impression of being machinery. They look like giraffes with their heads and necks poked up out of the water busy cocking an ear at the world.

Extensive facilities

Construction work is still in full swing in the docks, a commanding view of which is to be had from the roof of a majestic grain silo. There are oil tanks and above all extensive warehouses in steel and prefabricated concrete sections.

The port facilities are so extensive that comparison with overseas docks is warranted. They will have cost an estimated 112 million Marks and the loading-quays are three miles long. The entrance to the docks is 600 metres long and 100 metres (328.1 ft.) wide.

The Franconians have been aware of and enthusiastic about linking the Rhine and the Danube, the North and Black Seas, since the days of Charlemagne.

The Würzburg episcopal chronical of 1546 notes that in 793 Charlemagne tried to build a canal between the Rednitz and the Altmühl.

It is interesting to note that the Fossa Carolina, as the unfinished canal was called, was to be dug between the catchment areas of the Rhine and the Danube twenty-odd miles south-west of Hilpoltstein, almost exactly along the course of the 205-kilometre (127-mile) Rhine-Main-Danube Canal currently under construction.

The present canal linking Bamberg and Regensburg will boast the highest locks in the country and will peak at exactly the same point as its medieval predecessor was intended to.

Remains of the Fossa Carolina can be seen to this day a few miles north of Treuchtlingen, a railway junction. The tree-lined embankments overlooking a thirty-metre wide section of unfinished canal testify amply to the industry of the Carolingian era.

Another project to link the two major European waterways did not materialise until 1,000 years later in the days of Napolean, who commissioned a fresh study in 1801. The Napoleonic plans came to naught, though. The design was published in the French official gazette but that seems to have been the end of the matter.

In 1846, however, it did look as though a technically satisfactory solution to the problems involved had been arrived at and a link between the Main and the Danube established.

Charlemagne tried in vain, contemporary chroniclers proudly noted, but it took Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, to bring the project to a successful conclusion.

Plans for the Danube-Main Canal began in 1828. It took ten years to build and the link between Bamberg and Kelheim on the Danube was completed in 1846.

The Ludwigskanal, as it was called, boasted 100 locks and was fifteen metres wide with a draught of 1.47 metres (four feet eleven!).

Hailed as a miracle of technology, the canal made a powerful impression on contemporaries, as etchings and other documents show.

One etching shows horses, carts and merchants against the background of the large cranes in Nuremberg docks. Another shows an officer of the Royal Bavarian Fifth Infantry Regiment, stationed in Nuremberg until 1948, out riding along the canal banks with his good lady.

The barges are propelled by horses plodding along the towpaths. A sailing ship in full sail is passing. Its wooden rudder is a massive affair.

As technology and steam traction in particular advanced from strength to strength the minuscule draught and width of the canal proved an increasing handicap. The boost to trade and commerce expected to result from the construction of the canal was not to last long.

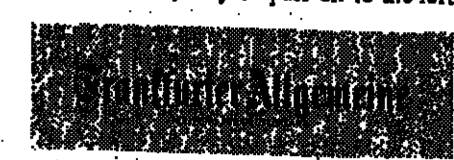
Canal traffic reached its peak in 1850. Its most serious competitor was the railway, the size of the canal allowing passage only for vessels with a load capacity of up to 120 tons. Above all, the canal was mainly intended for horse-drawn barges.

Compared with the canal currently under construction the nineteenth-century predecessor is tiny, almost a toy. The Europa Canal, scheduled to link the Rhine and the Danube from Bamberg to Regensburg and already completed as far as Nuremberg, bears eloquent testimony to modern technology.

Even more surprisingly, concrete, steel and water have not wrought havoc with the landscape. The silver stream of canal that ascends 81 metres between Bamberg and Nuremberg does not simply slice through the countryside; it wends its way gently along.

At one point it may look as though the canal dominates the landscape; at the next the canal appears merely to decorate it.

The canal crosses the bed of the valley at Forchheim, only to pass on to the left



bank of the Regnitz after the next lock. From this point on it stays above the bed of the valley, Erlangen being lower-lying. Ships sail past the old university town at a height equivalent to the fourth to six storeys of buildings in Erlangen.

The 72 kilometres of canal between Bamberg and Nuremberg have cost some 800 million Marks. The remaining 133 kilometres from Nuremberg to Regensburg will probably cost a further 1,300 million Marks.

The intricacies of the locks convey some idea of how the money is spent. At



Nuremberg inland port complex

(Photo: Barbara Klem

Kriegenbrunn, near Erlangen, the lock raises the level of water by nineteen metres (62 ft). Water chambers on either side of the canal provide up to sixty per cent of the additional water needed. The remainder is pumped from the canal itself.

In the Franconian Jura near Hilpoltstein, the watershed between the Rhine and the Danube, the country's tallest locks are to be built. They will boost the altitude of the canal by 25 metres or eighty feet.

Between Nuremberg and Hilpoltstein four locks must between them span an altitude of almost 94 metres, or over 300 feet. The Elbe bypass canal is the only water-way that can compare with the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal in this respect, a lock near Uelzen raising the water-level by 23 metres.

Between Fürth and Nuremberg a steel bridge 220 metres long and 44 metres wide spans the Rednitz. This bridge alone cost 12.5 million Marks.

The canal partly uses the bed of the Regnitz and will later pass through the canalised Altmühl. It is due to reach Regensburg in 1981. It is 55 metres wide and has a draught of four metres.

It can be plied by ships with a load capacity of up to 1,500 tons, their speed being limited to eleven kilometres an hour. Higher speeds would cause waves and currents that would damage the banks and bed of the canal.

The Regensburg-Vilshofen section is proving a headache for project engineers because the water-level of the Danube is on the decrease as one power station after another draws upon the resources of the Danube and its tributaries.

Barriers are being built to keep the scree and loose stones at bay. As a result the bed of the river and the water-level are sinking. 1,500-tonners will not be able to use the canal at this point with a full load. Five additional locks will have to be built in the Danube itself between now and 1989 to adjust the water-level to the remainder of the canal.

The entire project is well-organised and soundly financed. By the terms of a treaty between the German Reich and the states of Bavaria and Baden in 1921 the Rhine-Main-Danube AG was entrusted with the task of extending the inland waterways network between Aschaffenburg on the Main and the Austrian frontier at Passau on the Danube.

The company has the right to exploit the hydroelectric power of the Main, the Bavarian Danube, the Altmühl, the Regnitz and the Lech until the year 2050 providing that revenue is channelled into the waterways project.

The Rhine-Main Danube AG has so far built 47 hydroelectric power stations with an annual capacity of 2,400 million kilowatt hours. Government grants are repaid from revenue.

The terms of the 1921 treaty are not uninteresting in this respect either. Once it expires in the mid-21st century the power stations will be handed over to the Federal government and the Bavarian state government free of charge.

Forecasts as to the economic benefits the canal will bring vary. Port authorities and a number of surveys sound an optimistic note that is not echoed in the comments made by the boards of many firms.

According to an international survey conducted under the aegis of the UN Economic Commission for Europe the Nuremberg-Regensburg section of the canal will, by the end of the eighties, carry an annual volume of some fourteen million tons of freight. Bavaria is expected to benefit from above-average economic growth.

How relations between the various countries and economies between the North and the Black Seas will develop as a result of the canal remains to be seen. the Comecon countries have declared their interest in an inland waterway linking the Rhine and the Danube but no one can say at this stage what the actual outcome will be.

A Nuremberg firm that imports copper from Chile and Africa mentions as one relevant factor the fast land freight links to and from Hamburg and the tariff preferences for inland-based firms.

A major toy manufacturer reckons that his synthetic raw materials can be shipped from the Rhine and Main regions more quickly by road and rail.

A chemicals manufacturer near Kelheim who exports goods to Turkey and Iran is also circumspect. A decision will have to be made from one instance to the next as to whether lower freight costs by water offset the longer carriage times.

Shipping outsized construction units by barge would seem to be a likely starter, though. Transformatoren Union AG of Nuremberg, for instance, have been unable to manufacture transformer sections of more than 450 tons because road and rail transport were unable to convey the units. The firm now plans to ship transformers weighing up to 900 tons from Nuremberg to nuclear power station customers.

The turnover in Bamberg docks provides a perhaps more revealing picture of the kind and volume of goods currently shipped by inland waterway.

In 1971 some 1,3 million tons of cargo were handled in Bamberg, building materials for the most part. The turnover in building materials increased from half a million tons in 1965 to 900,000 tons last year.

Claus-Einar Langen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 September 1972)

■ AUTOMOBILES

BMW experiments with body styling

Bayerische Motoren-Werke (BMW) have a surprise to spring on the motoring public in the wake of the Munich Olympics. The BMW Turbo is a futuristic styling study for a peak-performance two-seater.

The vehicle is not intended for series production. It is designed strictly as an experimental model and will be used to test technical innovations on the BMW proving-ground that, should they make the grade, will gradually be incorporated in production models.

The car is powered by a two-litre, four-cylinder, centrally-housed turbo engine developing 200 DIN horse power and designed to comply with the strictest clean air regulations.

The wedge-shaped body with countersunk headlights boasts front and rear concertina zones in burstproof plastic that is claimed to regain its original shape after a minor collision.

The concertina zones contain tough U-brackets housing the flash and indicator units in front and the entire lighting system at the rear, rendering both impervious to minor smashes.

The wing doors are based on a British patent dating back to 1938 with hinges firmly mounted in mid-roof. The frames cross the entire width of the roof and provide protection in the event of the car turning turtle.

In order to improve rear vision the "gills" behind the doors are transparent. The seats, upholstered in best soft leather, are designed to the latest requirements and the ignition does not work until the automatic safety belts have been clipped into position. The dashboard contains any number of dials and indicators that even a skilled mechanic could only keep under observation at slow speeds or when the BMW Turbo is stationary. The primary dial includes an arc-shaped speedometer indicating speeds of up to 200 kilometres an hour (125 mph) by means of a light bar and incorporating a warning indicator for braking distances. There is also an indicator for over-acceleration on corners and a combination indicator for full headlights, rev count and flashing indicators.



The BMW Turbo (Photo: BMW)

The instrument package housed in the console between the seats includes the fuel gauge, the voltmeter, the thermometers for oil and water and the oil pressure and oil-level gauges.

The console also houses a clock, a rev counter, a radio, the mileometer and adjustable mileometer for individual tours and the heating and ventilation controls.

This, however, is not all. A further clutch of controls is housed in the panel of the door on the driver's side. They indicate wear and tear on foot and handbrakes, pressure gauges for the primary and secondary hydraulic brake circuits, the level of brake fluid, whether the hand brake has been released or not, the brake anti-bloc controls and electric power generated. They operate the rear window heating and indicate whether or not the lights switched on are actually functioning.

The four-cylinder two-litre engine has an 89-millimetre bore and an eighty-millimetre stroke. It is mounted transverse in front of the rear axle and linked to a conventional transmission unit. Transmission to the rear axle is particularly smooth and quiet.

With an exhaust turbo-loader the engine develops 200 DIN horse power at a compression ratio of only 6.8:1. Power can be extended to a maximum of roughly 280 horse power.

Maximum torque is 23.8 mkp, and although no rev counts are specified the rev counter goes up to 8,000 rpm.

The four-speed synchronised gearbox with sporting floor change and the rack-and-pinion steering are conventional in design, but the suspension is sophisticated and ought to guarantee stability and good road-holding.

The engine and transmission are mounted in a unit that is linked to the chassis by four outsize rubber bearings.

The four disc brakes boast servo at the rear and an anti-bloc system. The liquid radiator unit is housed in front and cooled by the air stream. A fan and thermostat are there to lend a hand.

The experimental vehicle is 4.155 metres long, 1.88 metres wide and 1.1 metres in height. Its wheelbase is 2.4 metres and track 1.55 metres and 1.53 metres in front and at the rear respectively.

The BMW Turbo weighs only 980 kilogrammes — a mere 4.9 kg per horse power — and is thus capable of peak performance. Top speed is 240 kilometres an hour (150 mph).

The Turbo accelerates to sixty mph from a standing start in 6.6 seconds and to 100 mph in 15.7 seconds. This performance, let it be added, is achieved with a conventional four-speed gearbox and dry-disc clutch.

Kuno C. M. Peters

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 3 September 1972)

■ PROFILE

Karl Vossler – a twentieth-century Alexander von Humboldt

Karl Vossler, the philologist, and Eduard Wölfflin, the art historian, are two of the great Munich University scholars whose influence can still be felt today. Vossler was the more colourful and more vital figure and his influence has reached far beyond the walls of the university.

That is linked with his origins and the way his studies progressed. Karl Vossler was born in Hohenheim, near Stuttgart, on 6 September 1872. His father was head of the Agricultural College there.

Karl Vossler studied German in Tübingen and Strasbourg, which was then part of Germany, for which he was awarded a doctorate. But he then went to Geneva and Rome and turned to Italian language and literature.

As far as his language and philosophy were concerned, Karl Vossler was as Italian as he was German. He learned and loved the local Roman dialect. It was also in Rome that he met his wife Esterina, the daughter of Count Domenico Gnoli, a well-known poet and scientist.

When he returned to Germany in 1900 – he settled in Heidelberg – he set up an Italian language centre on German soil. To obtain his lectureship he wrote a dissertation on "Poetical Theories in the Early Italian Renaissance".

Vossler's teacher was neither Gröber in Strasbourg nor Monaci in Rome nor yet again von Waldberg, under whom he studied for his lectureship. It was instead an unknown outsider of Italian philosophy who was on his way to world fame – Benedetto Croce.

Languages, grammatical forms and the history of language and literature were seen as the result of long processes similar to the evolution of plants and animals.

Vossler rebelled against this nonsense. He found these scientific operations unintellectual, stuffy and boring and wrote two dissertations attacking positivism – *Positivism and Idealism in Linguistics* (1904) and *Language as Creation and Evolution* (1905). These works became famous.

Vossler based his views on Herder, Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Enlightenment and the intellect. It is the intellect, he said, that produces language. Language and intellect or speaking and thinking are one. We can only think when we speak. Man does not become Man until he speaks and thinks.

These ideas had a revolutionary effect at the time, freeing literature and linguistics of the chains science had imposed on them. Vossler's chief witness was Hegel, his fellow-countryman. It was from Hegel he learned that Man's intellect was determined by history. And this is the same Hegel who had an influence on Benedetto Croce.

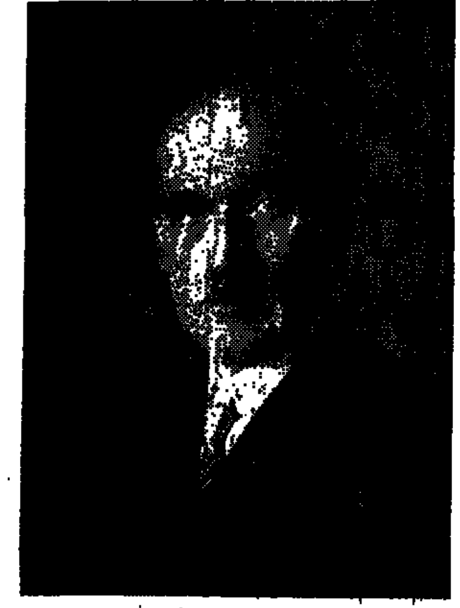
In 1911 Vossler accepted an appointment at Munich University. It was here that he made his home after his many travels. He became a celebrated teacher and re-formed the university after the Second World War.

Vossler first encountered the irrational ideas of the twenties and thirties in 1926 when extreme right-wing student bodies demanded the expulsion of Jewish students.

Vossler stated that this was a zoological problem though not a human one. The university, he said, was not a menagerie. He warned against the corruption that could result from the idea that power was everything and he demanded that intellectuals should not be taken in by political fanatics.

Vossler extended his research to the whole of the Romance world. He progressed from France to Spain and Portugal and he was a frequent visitor to Central and South America.

He was not only the guest of universities there or an occasional contributor to periodicals in all languages. He was



Karl Vossler (Photo: Ullstein)

part of those countries' intellectual life, the same as Hegel on the Humboldt brothers had been previously and the same as his friend Croce was at that time.

His research in this new field resulted in books on the *Tenth Muse of Mexico*, the poetry-writing nun Juana Inés de la Cruz, and a monograph on Leopardi.

Vossler followed in the footsteps of Eichendorff and Grillparzer and translated many works of Spanish literature into German. Vossler discovered the "poetic forms of the novel", the title of lectures he gave at Munich University in 1925, 1932 and 1937. The 1937 lecture was his last. Vossler retired on April 1938 and became professor emeritus. "I have completely given up teaching and have no regrets at all," he wrote.

Vossler started travelling again – as long as this was possible. He went to Paris and spent a long time in Havana, Cuba. He spent a number of evenings here with Juan Ramon Jiminez, the Spanish poet who lived in exile in Cuba.

Vossler returned to Munich shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War. "Things have reached such a pitch – and I can no longer move away from here," he wrote in September 1939. Hostilities had begun.

His translation of Dante was completed in 1941. Vossler immediately started fresh research on the life and works of Luis de Leon. As the lack of foreign literature made his work harder, he turned to his earlier and more recent essays and edited them into a number of volumes published under the title *From the Romance world.*

The essays dealt with subjects like the poetry of the troubadors (one volume is taken up by translations of their works), Tasso's *Aminta*, "The Antique and the Theatrical in Novels", Croce's linguistic philosophy, Racine, Mallarmé and, time and again, the links between the Romance countries and the German intellect.

Vossler's style was loose and natural and he did not indulge in convoluted sentences. He never clothed what he wanted to say in jargon and this naturally increased the effect of his works.

He was a good writer and always put straight to the point, even when speaking of such remote subjects as the poetry of Italian shepherds; "The scene is Arcadia. An idealised Italian landscape with broad horizons; hills, cliffs, a laurel grove with a spring, a few shepherds' huts scattered about the countryside and perhaps a Greek temple in the background. Everything is rural and idyllic. There is nothing to give a stage designer an excuse to indulge in particular splendour ..."

Vossler was never put off by big names. With complete lack of constraint he compares the two poets Lope and Gongora: "On closer examination Lope is found to have so much affectation and intellectual decoration and Gongora such a coarse popular vein that a complicated and alluring love-hate relationship developed."

Vossler played a le[illegible] role when the universities and intellectual life had to be built up anew after the end of the Second World War. His name was used to forge relations with the rest of the world. He once again developed his charm as a man of the world and outstanding personality when he became rector of the reformed university.

Vossler knew the difference between arts and science, between freedom and discipline. He was too clever to be rigid in his views. Vossler died at the age of 77 on 18 May 1949.

Curt Hohoff

(Die Welt, 6 September 1972)

An appeal to renounce political fanaticism made by Vossler in 1927

The ghosts and spectres I would like to scare away today are both legion and dangerous: they represent all the political fanaticism relegated to the darker corners of public life when Bismarck's will created a clear and fixed national order. It was possible to believe that they were a thing of the past.

But they have once again cascaded upon us, taking up a place in the forefront of life and confusing people. The old irrationality returns in new disguises: a metaphysical, speculative, romantic, fanatical, abstract, rationalist and mystic politicking.

Unless I am very much mistaken, all these subspecies of evil, however different and mutually hostile, result from a breakdown in the relationship between the intellectual life and the political desire of nations, from the disharmony between their culture and their politics ...

One myth of this type is the doctrine of the evil of power as such. Even such a profound historian as Jacob Burckhard has been scared and misled by this fairy-tale and not even such a fine and patient analyser of political philosophy as Friedrich Meinecke has always resisted its temptations.

There are times when revolution, war, oppression and economic hardship become so agonising that even the most noble and strongest minds can no longer resist the idea that power, *raison d'état*, arms, diplomacy and money are the inventions and arts of the devil, while in themselves they possess neither innocence nor guilt.

Since Aurelianus Augustinus stigmatised the *chitas terrena* with his abomination of the Christians, all State diplomacy has been tainted with the suspicion that it is the work of Satan.

Since we humans have been inclined to attribute our daily hardship to eternity instead of the course of the times, since we have seen them as a plague from Heaven and enlarged them instead of fighting them with mortal vallance, we have all been faced by the temptation of casting political events and power in the light of apocalyptic disposition and inventing for them a metaphysical significance that is as inappropriate and becoming to them as to a comet or every day rain.

With such an emphasis on the supernatural we distort great statesmen and generals to superhumans, demi-gods and creatures of prey and thus squander the chance of learning from them the sober determination and farsighted feeling of responsibility that they embody.

Sighs can be heard from innumerable beer or coffee-drinking groups about how dirty and helplessly unclean all political business is, about how untruthful the press is, how disloyal ministers are, how base parliaments are and so forth.

People voicing these complaints think they are too good and too intellectual for politics. In reality they are faint-hearted, too much concerned with their own comfort, and are neither willing nor able to help and serve their own nation. If a person is not even good enough to be a fellow-traveller, it does him good to imagine that he stands above politics ...

Political mythology persuades those who believe in it that they are perfectly secure, that bold ventures of theirs must succeed, that fate will support them and approve of their actions, that the eternal powers will stand at their service whenever they demand.

The heroic confidence that sometimes overcomes us in times of greatest hardship and danger and can perhaps rescue a drowning man is exploited by political mythology and adulterated into the doctrine and statutes for average occasions and the average people among the masses.

The bold determination of the man of war prepared for death becomes the normal mental attitude of a party, a caste and finally a nation as it is extended and made banal.

The sense of the fickleness, whim and caprice of the balance of power and the feeling for opportunities and responsibility that anyone connected with politics should possess is stupefied, a drug and anaesthetic becomes daily bread.

It is after all so fine, so easy, so great and pleasant to display the recklessness of a sleepwalker and the steadfastness of a drunkard and pity the cautious, the vigilant and the sober who do not share this political mythology.

Fellow-scholars, in recent years you have done a lot to banish alcoholism from student life but for the past few years you have been running the risk of becoming mentally drunk on political myths and slogans. If the academic youth is not capable of remaining sober, I look with concern on the future of the Reich whose formation we celebrate today ...

Our German fatherland has been blessed in this way with a number of politicking religions, with creeds intent on temporal success and sects addicted to State power. It is easy to become anxious at the sight of these evil worldly flagellants.

There is no shortage of the ardent passion of conviction or of sacrifice. The political behaviour of our youth has taken over so much of the absolute, the daring, highmindedness, extremism, intolerance, sectarian deviance and so much of the rigidity of religious feeling and thought that we urgently wish them to learn something from scientific thought and self-criticism ...

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 September 1972)

■ CENTREPIECE

Lucas Cranach the Elder, the great Renaissance artist

Though 1972 is the 500th anniversary of the birth of painter Lucas Cranach the Elder there can be no high point and no centre of the celebrations for research has so far failed to discover the actual date and hour of the artist's birth.

There are very limited sources of information about the origins of the Lucas Cranach known as "the Elder" to distinguish him from his son, born in 1515. We only know that some time in 1472 he saw the light of day in Kronach in Upper Franconia.

The Latin writings of Matthäus Gunderam from which we get this information are almost certainly quite reliable, for Gunderam was taken on as tutor to Lucas junior and undoubtedly became quite intimate with details about his distinguished father.

Confirmation is provided by the gravestone to the painter at the Jakobsfriedhof in Weimar, which states that he died in 1553 in his 81st year.

He was the son of Hans, a painter, and a master cobbler's daughter. His real surname was probably Sunder, but he followed a practice of many artists and scholars of his day and adopted the name of his native town.

Reports of his early life are disappointingly sparse. Towards the end of the century it appears that Cranach made his way via Coburg to Nuremberg where he



Adam and Eve

came into contact with the influences of a flourishing school of painting, whose youngest member, Albrecht Dürer, was just about beginning to produce his first masterpieces at this time. Then Cranach moved along the Danube to Vienna where he lived between 1501 and 1504.

A crucifixion in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich and the portraits of Cuspinian and Reuss – a historian and the provost of Vienna University – remind us of the artist's familiarity with the circle of humanists in the town. They are masterpieces. Their maturity leads us to assume that the master may have painted many earlier, less accomplished works that have been lost, perhaps through a fire.

These early paintings as well as the earliest known Cranach woodcuts are important additions to the art of the time in the Regensburg, Passau and Vienna area, the so-called Danube School. The most important painter in this school emerged shortly afterwards – Albrecht Altdorfer. Full, rich, fantastic landscapes emerge from being a mere background motif to become the centre of action which determines the nature of the picture. There are gnarled trees with shaggy, drooping foliage, steep rocks and rich grasslands with figures in the midst that almost become part of the landscape because of their clothing and posture which is exaggerated almost to the point of ornamental abstraction.

This puts Cranach right in among a mediaeval tradition, which is also to be seen in the sculpture of the period with its independent and supercharged style which is sometimes called rather aptly "late-Gothic Baroque".

Without any shadow of doubt is was the enlightened climate in the court that Lucas Cranach joined in 1505 that altered his style so abruptly and basically. For the first time the painter met with a phenomenon that he had not come across between the Main and the Danube before 1500 – the Renaissance.

In the spring of 1505 Cranach followed the call of the Elector Frederick III of Saxony to join his court at Wittenberg.

Frederick the Wise, a lover of the arts and patron of the sciences, had tried ever since he came to power in 1486 to give his modest palace an air of elegance and magnificence. He founded a university, called on well-known men of learning and quickly built it up into a renowned seat of learning. Frederick also availed himself of the services of the great painthers of the day of which Albrecht Dürer is without doubt one of the most important.

The Elector had an open mind and a wary eye for the cultural and scientific streams of his day and soon became an important patron of the Renaissance and Reformation periods in Germany.

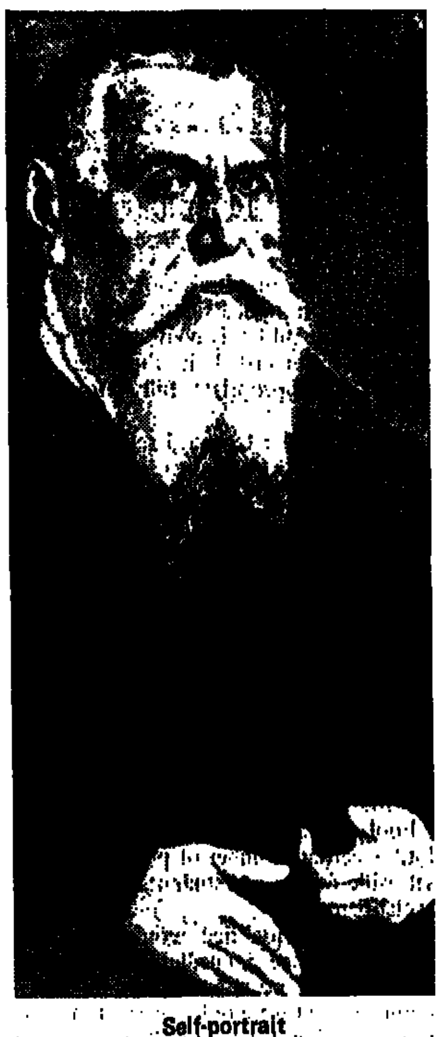
Jacopo de' Barbari, a wide-ranging Venetian artist, had been in the Elector's service since 1503. Frederick lured him away from the Emperor Maximilian with whom he had been since 1500 as "contrafeter und illuminist".

The Italian artist, about fifty years old at the time, worked for his new master in Torgau, Naumburg, Weimar and above all in Wittenberg, where he decorated the palace with scenes from mythology and Roman history and where he met Dürer in 1504.

This was the setup when Cranach arrived at Frederick's court a year later. He became attached to Wittenberg, marrying and taking a house there. He was so much part of the fixtures and fittings that as the others drifted away he found himself the sole court painter and head of a large workshop. For 46 years the impressive house on the Elbe was the painter's home.

Following the tastes of his new patron and obviously influenced decisively by the works of Jacopo, Lucas Cranach diverged himself step by step from his early works, forsaking the crispness of form, the pathos of expression of his late Gothic phase, and striving for well balanced compositions and well tempered expression – influenced by a Classicism of Renaissance-like stamp for which he may have wrestled constantly without ever really achieved it.

What Hans Holbein the younger was to achieve in Basle twenty years later was not to succeed for the almost thirty years older Cranach, although he survived the artist from Augsburg by exactly ten years. He could not overcome the filling out of bodies and space in the Gothic manner, the brittleness and torment of the "old German Spätstil" in favour of a genuine Classical monumentality in which clear, calibrated forms were linked with measured, enlightened expression.



Self-portrait (Photos: Historia)

Nevertheless the numerous altars, pictures of the Madonna and devotional tableaux, that were conceived from 1506 onwards in great abundance for the Saxon Electoral churches and court, and which are today spread out over any number of museums, show not only the master's striving for the strictly symmetrical construction of his Classical models.

They depict also his sometimes almost moving efforts to cull the grace, charm and sweetness of the female figure – which had been part of the Italian hagiographical pictures for decades – from the Saxon ladies of the court, which Cranach so often placed as companions to the Madonna.

Apart from the usual religious subjects and biblical scenes there was now an enrichment under the influence of the burgeoning Renaissance and the demands of the courtly patrons with numerous motifs taken from the re-emerged world of thought of heathen antiquity, with figures from sagas, mythology and history to add to the repertoire of the master.

Venus and Lucretia, Bacchus and Hercules, Apollo and Diana became the main figures of Cranach's pictorial creation. Among the themes for his works were many up-to-date events, the Fountain of Youth, The Judgment of Paris and the like.

It was with great effort that the Gothic artist struggled for the secrets of the naked body. The artist in Wittenberg went his own way, far from the models of antiquity and the Italian school. He undressed the ladies of the court, who appeared in his pictures as Judith or Bathsheba. They divested themselves of their stiff and starchy clothes and paved the way boldly towards antique bodily beauty.

No wonder his Venuses and nymphs with their anatominal shortcomings stand before us rather timorous and abashed. They do become more pert in later works and play teasingly with veils that hide nothing or wear daring hats with absolutely nothing else or wear expensive jewellery, but come what may they still seem remarkably angular and seem rather undressed than divinely naked.

Cranach's greatest achievements were as a portrait painter. He served three Electors, Frederick the Wise, Johann the Constant and Johann Friedrich the Generous, as a portrait painter. He was certainly no less constant than the master who earnt himself this title. He accompanied the Electors on their journeys and even followed Johann Friedrich into exile to Innsbruck in 1551 after the Elector had been defeated by the Imperial-Spanish army.

In 1552 the Elector had his rights restored and moved his residence from Wittenberg to Weimar. Cranach, now a very old man, was not put off by the journey. He took up residence in his son-in-law's house on Weimar Marketplace and just a few months before his death on 16 October 1553 he began work on the Weimar Stadtkirche altar.

There is greater psychological depth in Cranach's portraits of learned men and theologians than in his pictures of princes and courtiers. Holbein is renowned as the painter of Erasmus – Cranach it was who painted Luther. He has passed down to us the reformer, his wife and Melanchton in numerous portraits and thus had a great deal to with our present-day concepts of the personalities of the Reformation.

It was his meetings with the Reformers that helped Cranach in his concept of Protestant allegories and altars. The borders between Church and secular painting were being swept away more and more and from 1525 onwards Cranach was working more in the spirit of anti-scholastic humanitarianism. He expressed the religious motifs more in lay terms and stripped them of their dogmatic content.

Nevertheless the spectrum of his work remained amazingly broad. He was capable of satisfying the most diverse demands at one time. At a time of the most vehement conflicts between the spiritual and secular world Cranach painted horrific Christian martyrdoms as well as

DIE WELT

courtly battle and hunting scenes, idyllic mythological scenes as well as moralities and didactic Protestant altars.

So much was Cranach in demand that his means were later to be heavily criticised. In a number of cases Cranach sacrificed the penetrative power of his personality. He became head of a workshop producing altars and pictures of all kinds as well as designs for shrines of relics, tapestries, glass paintings, coins, shields, insignia and the like. He designed the summer and winter outfits at court and even worked on painting furniture, sledges, fountains, fences and houses.

Apart from Cranach's sons Hans and Lucas there were often more than ten apprentices in Cranach's workshop after 1530. The artist himself had honorary positions heaped on him, including places on the local council and as burgomaster. He had a great business sense and in 1520 even opened his own apothecary's shop.

The main motif of the heraldic emblem Frederick the Wise granted to his court painter in 1508 was a winged snake. From this time onward the symbol was used by the master to sign his works. Up till 1537 the snake was seen with erect bat wings, but from this time on the wings were lowered – probably in mourning for the death of Lucas' son Hans. Originally it was the artist's own sign, but was later used by his pupils. The winged snake became the trademark of his workshop.

The many jobs that the workshop carried out slowly but surely submerged the talents of one of the greatest artistic personalities in Germany in the sixteenth century.

The personal style became a *Zeitstil* which dominated the whole century from the Elbe to the Saale as other artists followed in the footsteps of a genius.

Hans Werner Grohn

(Die Welt, 2 September 1972)



■ EDUCATION

Educationalists search for new university selection methods

Awards many soon be issued to groups managing to stop school-leavers applying for university if the present situation continues! Until recently it was always considered right to advise parents to send their children to university but now the educational wind has turned.

Let us not get bogged down by looking for those responsible for the present situation. The full blame cannot be put on politicians alone. There are also those conservative professors who are unwilling to accept reform and those extreme left-wing student groups who have so far hindered a reform of studies. How will things develop?

The most urgent task at present is to draw the right conclusions from the Constitutional Court verdict forcing the State to fix standardised admission regulations for those subjects where entry restrictions are imposed.

The Rectors Conference recently drew up exhaustive proposals of its own for a new law as it argued rightly that the new regulations could only come into force by summer term 1973 if the Bundestag passes the appropriate Bill before it is dissolved.

More than the technical regulations for the extension of the various selection centres are involved. Once again the basic principles of education policy are at stake. The traditional educational theories based on the idea of performance have been called into question. Agreement between the SPD and FDP on the one hand and the Christian Democrats on the other is not to be expected.

The Vice-Chancellors Conference made the practical proposal that the eligibility of an applicant for a subject where entry restrictions are imposed should depend on his qualifications, the year he left school and a chance figure obtained by lot. A certain number of places could be set aside for foreign students and cases of social hardship.

The highly-qualified would receive a university place immediately while the others would be admitted after a maximum of five (more or less wasted?) years if they did not give up all hope in the meantime.

The weakness about this scheme is that the evaluation of qualifications would be conducted according to regulations passed by the various Education Ministers in conjunction with the Bundesrat, the Upper House. There cannot of course be any absolute justice. If need, mathematics grades could serve as a criterion for selecting mathematics students.

Procedure with subjects not taught at school would be much more difficult. Any number of theories are in existence. One claims that there is a link between music grades and the study of medicine.

But how are the universities to cope with this flood of examinations? It was also proved a long time ago that examinations of this type lead to no practical results – unless of course their intention is to solve problems of education policy by barring those who come off worst.

There then remains the lottery procedure. A number of would-be students could be excluded from the very beginning as being obviously unsuitable for the subject in question while a small number of the obviously highly-qualified could be accepted without any procedure of this type.

But the draw would have to be followed a few terms later by the much-criticised intermediate examinations so that places are not occupied for an excessive length of time by those students who show no aptitude for a subject. This type of procedure would at least ensure that the search for better solutions was continued.

Horst Köpke

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 August 1972)

The professorial merry-go-round

There is more at stake than personal glory when professors are offered posts at another university. There is also the material side. The university wishing to appoint a new professor to increase its teaching establishment and reputation and the Federal state responsible for financing it have to make the change worth his while by promising an increase in salary or better working conditions or both.

The university threatened by the loss of one of its professors will often make a counterbid – it will often be worth the professor's while to reject the original offer. This practice, true to the much-praised economic law of supply and demand, has become common in this country.

Some civil servants in the North Rhine-Westphalia Education Ministry and Finance Ministry want the Federal states to gain some control over this free market by passing appropriate laws and fixing the fees that professors can be paid.

The salaries have already been fixed in a Bill for the reform of university pay that has a good chance of being passed by the Bundesrat and the provincial assemblies and becoming law.

Any transfer bid would then in future cost the State and its taxpayers five hundred Marks a month, irrespective of whether it is accepted or rejected.

This is the figure envisaged for the highest-paid university teachers earning between 2,159 and 3,848 Marks a month. About 45 per cent of all university teachers in the Federal Republic come into this category.

The State may make a saving in some cases and many professors may become peevish as they think they are worth more than five hundred Marks a months to their new employer.

But a legally-fixed salary scale has its dangers. Universities could decide to help their professors financially by transferring them to other universities and setting a chain reaction in motion.

Professors refusing a move in the old days were often given a torchlight procession in their honour by the students and this still happens in a number of places. In future this could give way to insinuations, defamations and slogans daubed on walls – and no professor will want that.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 1 September 1972)

Most Abitur-holders go on to study at a university

Nine in ten school-leavers with the advanced certificate of education, the *Abitur*, plan to go on to study, according to a survey conducted by the Joint Commission for Educational Planning.

The total of 90.3 per cent is higher than the figure for past years. When it is considered that some of the 5.8 per cent don't-knows will also want to go to university and only four per cent plan a different course of further education, the dilemma facing universities and politicians responsible for education becomes more obvious.

School-leavers with the advanced certificate of education have practically no appropriate alternative course of further education at their disposal apart from university.

The *Abitur* is too one-sided as an examination designed to test the candidate's eligibility for university studies. The course leading to the *Abitur* is not flexible enough and cuts pupils off from the various courses of career training offered by the school system as a whole.

It also seems to be part of traditional educational dogma that anyone with the *Abitur* has to go on to study. This antiquated attitude is strengthened by the fact that the qualifications demanded by some professions are still based on this rigid system.

The recent debate about the Constitutional Court's verdict on university entry restrictions has once again shown the urgent need for transition from school to the various courses of further education to be made easier.

This is not only because the universities are obviously no longer in a position to accept all school-leavers who want to study. A more valid reason is probably that the special talents of the individual pupil is not given due attention under the rigid *Abitur*-study pattern.

The ninety per cent of school-leavers wanting to go to university demonstrate both the welcome educational ambitions of the young and the alarmingly limited range of opportunities of further education within the current education system.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 31 August 1972)

Helmuth Plessner celebrates his eightieth birthday

Everybody wishing to cut a good figure in debates on university reform glibly demands "inter-disciplinary research". Attempts to put this into practice are more difficult.

Though specialists from the various branches of science may be prepared to cooperate, this willingness is not sufficient on its own to achieve true inter-disciplinary work.

Effective research remains linked to individual researchers. It demands that the individual knows and respects other ideas and that he is able to understand the problems of other branches of science.

Helmuth Plessner, born eighty years ago on 4 September 1892 in Wiesbaden, developed these virtues at a time when they were still considered an unfashionable luxury.

Plessner studied zoology and took up a lectureship in Cologne in 1920, influenced by Husserl and Scheler. Sociological questions played a larger role in his work after 1933. His colleagues in "inter-disciplinary" discussions during his exile in Holland were the historian Groethuysen and the anthropologist Buytendijk.

When the Law Faculty(!) of Göttingen University appointed him professor of sociology and philosophy in 1951, Plessner began a highly-effective teaching career. He had already won a reputation because of the books and articles he had published.

Like his friend Max Horkheimer, who began teaching in Frankfurt at about the same time, Plessner freed a whole generation of students from the compulsions imposed by an ivory-tower existence.



(Photo: Keystone)

Many of the generation reduced and embittered by the war had studied only philosophy, economics, law or history but Plessner encouraged them to understand the sociological background to life.

The empirical sociology newly established in Germany was also given philosophical expression from the very outset in Göttingen, Habermas, Bahrdt and Count Krockow, now all professors, attended Plessner's lectures and seminars along with Peter von Oertzen and Ludwig von Friedburg who are today both education ministers.

They and all his other pupils will remember their teacher Helmuth Plessner with fondness. He liked making abstract discussions more palatable by recounting a number of anecdotes.

He never forced his pupils to accept one particular philosophical school. His delivery and his style are completely without pretention and this means that he did not raise a school of disciples who did no more than imitate. Instead, he helped a generation to think on their own and to think critically.

Plessner is highly esteemed in the scientific world as one of the founders of philosophical anthropology. He defended this much-maligned discipline against its critics who simplified its aims and pronounced it dead on more than one occasion.

Arnold Gehlen claimed that anthropology deals with Man as a virtually unalterable object and modern behaviour research treats Man as no more than a biological phenomenon. But Plessner has always stressed the historical nature of Man.

It will not be long before biology, sociology and historical science conduct joint research work to develop a new theory of Man. But this new type of anthropology will have to take Plessner into account. This can only be desired for his sake – he now lives in Switzerland – and the sake of the science of anthropology.

Ivo Frenzel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 September 1972)

■ MEDICINE

Rheumatism remains a medical phenomenon

The problems involved in rheumatic illnesses were given an airing at the 24th Therapy Congress which recently ended in Karlsruhe. But this is really no more than a superficial reason for this article based mainly on the basic research undertaken by Mainz pathologist Professor H.G. Fassbender. Professor Fassbender, director of the Armed Forces Institute for General and Experimental Pathology and head of the Centre for Rheumatic Pathology, both in Mainz, was introduced to the Karlsruhe congress as the Federal Republic's foremost rheumatic specialist. He has now given permission for his latest research into the pathological aspects of rheumatism to be published.

Doctors react no differently from the medical layman when asked what rheumatism actually is. This rather ill-defined term covers polyarthritis, rheumatic fever and rheumatoid arthritis and it is not yet clear whether inflammation or degeneration is the cause.

Generalising, it can be said that the disorder referred to as rheumatism is in fact chronic polyarthritis while rheumatic fever is also a symptom of rheumatoid arthritis.

Professor Fassbender states that chronic polyarthritis and rheumatic fever are the two complaints illustrating most impressively the pathological processes involved in the rheumatic disorders caused by inflammation.

But what type of complaint is rheumatism if even experts have to admit that they are unable to give a precise definition? Rheumatism is still a rather vague and ill-defined term despite all efforts to distinguish it from similar complaints of a different origin.

Chronic polyarthritis is indeed an inflammation but two completely different processes are involved in its development. Fassbender's investigations have shown that the main feature of the complaint is its attack on the joints. The end result is the complete destruction of the joints.

Doctors at the Karlsruhe congress were told that arthritis was not a drama like gout but more of a slow-moving didactic play. But this definition does not apply to chronic polyarthritis. The processes at work around the joints are biologically extremely dramatic.

The dreaded and painful process of inflammation can be traced from its initial stages. The capillaries around the joint are affected by what are probably immunological processes and they become pervious.

Blood plasma seeps out and this contains fibrin, a highly-molecular protein which forms during coagulation. Fibrin plays a fateful role in polyarthritis. It penetrates into the joint, setting in motion a mechanism which results in the complete decay of the ligaments.

The joint is surrounded by connective tissue containing vessels and nerves. When penetrated by fibrin, it responds with turbulent growth. The cells produced spread over the ligament, destroying it.

The fibrin which has penetrated the joint and completely covered the inner surface of the capsule encourages the growth of inflamed granulation tissue, a young delicate tissue composed mainly of blood vessels, which penetrates the soft core of the bone beneath the ligament and resembles tumour tissue in its rampant growth.

Certain metabolites originate under the influence of this inflammation and destroy the intermediate substances remaining. The destruction of the joint is complete.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The patient's pericardium is also affected in about forty per cent of cases. Damage to the pleura is rarer and damage to the peritoneum exceptional. The tendon sheaths and mucous follicles are also frequently affected but the inflammation here is no different than in the joints.

The fact that inflammation processes take place exclusively in these areas forces researchers to believe that they are dealing with an extremely unusual disease, Fassbender suggests.

The joint cavities, tendon sheaths, mucous follicles and other areas affected by chronic polyarthritis are all regions of the body covered with basal membranes consisting of thick fibres and separating the capillaries from the cavity.

But apart from this process caused by a pathological increase in the perviousness of the capillaries and the subsequent degeneration of the joints, chronic polyarthritis occurs in a second form.

Without any previous inflammation, tissue begins to decay. This process – also known as necrosis – affects the skin, tendons, heart muscle or the tissue in the vascular wall.

This process is probably caused by antibodies produced in part by the so-called rheumatic factor, a serological phenomeon and likewise a highly-molecular protein always found in the serum of patients suffering from necrosis while it does not always occur in patients suffering inflammation. Tissue necrosis is fatal when it affects the heart muscle.

What causes rheumatic fever? Fassbender attributes it to immunological mechanisms prompted when the organism is attacked by the so-called A streptococci. It has long been known that streptococci infections can become a cause of rheumatism.

The organism reacts to the streptococci by producing antibodies and occasionally a fatal cross-reaction occurs. The antibodies fit like a key into both the streptocci substance (polysaccharide) and the proteins forming the internal lining of the endocard.

Most of the fatal chronic polyarthritis cases can be attributed to this cross-reacting which normally causes the inflammation of the valves or inner lining of the heart.

A typical symptom of rheumatic fever caused by streptococci is the granuloma discovered in the heart muscle's connective tissue by the famous Freiburg pathologist Ludwig Aschoff in 1904 and sometimes named after him.

Pervious capillaries are also involved here. The plasma seeping out forms a prelimenary stage of the granuloma. In rare cases auto-immunological processes also play their part in the development of rheumatic fever.

Antibodies attack the body's own heart muscle that has been infected by streptococci. The heart muscle seems to have replaced the streptococci in their role as antigens. A variety of Aschoff's granuloma occurs and Fassbender has dubbed it "muscle-aggressive granuloma" as it Destroys the fibres of the heart muscles.

Of course this is only an outline of everything involved in rheumatic deseases but it does give an approximate idea of the immense complexity of a pathological process that is still one of the most mysterious biological mechanisms despite some remarkable research discoveries in recent years.

Alfred Püllmann

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 September 1972)

Fatigue – an unknown quantity

Next to pain, fatigue is the main reason why people consult a doctor," Professor Schretzemayr, head of the Advanced Medical Training Association, told medical students attending a congress in Augsburg.

His claim was strengtened by findings announced at the Welfare Congress in Munich. Thirty per cent of mothers living in urban areas and forty per cent in rural areas feel tired, weary or indifferent.

These psychic complaints are spreading. Doctors warn that many people have suffered a drop in performance. Pathological forms of tiredness have even been noted among children.

There is little literature about fatigue and few investigations have been conducted into this complaint. The phenomenon puzzles doctors as it normally occurs during long holiday periods or when a person is not under so much strain as usual at work.

A common explanation for fatigue is that the nerves have been overstimulated, making it more difficult for a person to get to sleep and spend his usual number of hours asleep.

Television programmes do not end until eleven o'clock in the evening and many people go to bed too late as a result. Those having to get up at five o'clock to go to work do not get enough sleep. Even when they get to bed they have to compete with the incessant noise of neighbours or motor vehicles.

Explanations of this type are of little help to medical researchers or practitioners. Even when doctors ensure that their patients have enough undisturbed sleep, their "vegetative fatigue" does not improve.



Dr Funk of Homburg Neurological Hospital in the Saar has investigated the typical features and basic causes of fatigue. Writing about the problem in a medical journal, he states: "More and more often the diagnosis of patients sent to the hospital is pathological fatigue, nervous fatigue or depression."

Funk divides patients affected into two groups. Performance and efficiency drop either because outside demands become too great or because a person's vigour slackens.

An example of outside demands becoming too great is the poor pupil who fails at school. The unaccustomed demands of a new timetable or teacher affect him so greatly mentally and psychologically that doctors can only diagnose a state of exhaustion.

Also coming into this category is the case of a man who always complained that he had to work too hard for his firm and had to assume too much responsibility. At night he would sink into bed in a state of complete exhaustion and still feel tired the next morning.

It took many hours of consultation before the doctor knew that the patient had been in the same post for six years, had not needed to work too hard but had always been overlooked in the promotion stakes. This fact had been mentally suppressed.

In cases of "inner failure" the doctor is unable to ascertain any external cause or physical disorder. The patient notices over a time span of months or years that his performance is beginning to slacken, that he is beginning to find his job a strain despite being able to perform all his duties effortlessly in past years and that he has become irritable or indifferent and unenterprising. He will sit around sullenly and apathetically and is completely exhausted when he finally consults a doctor.

It is mainly the middle-aged who come into this category and it is usually men between 45 and 55 who have begun to fail at home or at work and are frequently admitted to hospital with what is sometimes described as a retirement neurosis.

There is a genuine condition of failure in these cases and experiencing it every day depresses them more and more, leading finally to complete resignation. The failure is not caused by a shock from outside nor by external demands.

Because of this feeling of failure the world outside and the people in it are judged according to different criteria. Vigour slackens off and depression is often permanent. It is people in this condition who often make an application for early retirement pensions.

But as an examination of the patient's physical condition produces no findings of any value and as his mental disorders are too vague and indefinite the doctor prescribes "retirement neurosis" and the application is rejected.

Housewives with the same types of depression find it easier to suppress the symtoms and hide their feeling of failure. The family can sometimes cause such an improvement that medical treatment becomes superfluous.

Dr Funk believes that doctors should pay the greatest of attention to patients of this type instead of sending them to one specialist after another. Boredom is often the cause of fatigue. Pleasure in work disappears and the constant tension between brain and brawn is lacking.

Ample leisure time does not solve the problem as people are more likely to put their free time in the hands of television or the pleasure industry instead of using their own initiative and enterprise.

Clever and experienced doctors can usually help cure tiredness and fatigue. "Taking a patient from the domestic or professional environment that imposes such a strain on him is an important factor in effecting a cure," Dr Funk comments.

Patients suffering from tiredness and fatigue ought to find their own methods to escape their normal, oppressive environment. But unfortunately most cases do not find it all that easy.

Wolf Schirrmacher

(Der Tagesspiegel, 5 September 1972)

■ OUR WORLD

Sociologist analyses quality of city life

Critics of this country's cultural life maintain that things in the big cities are in a bad way. They reduce all things to the same level, they ruin personality, they make people rootless, they isolate and demoralise and they bring about family alienation. In the middle of the 19th century it was repeated endlessly that they created an aversion to marriage. Country life was played off against the so-called decadence of city life. In the country life had value, meaning and a purpose.

Modern investigators have taught us other things, in particular Professor Elisabeth Pfeil, a Hamburg sociologist who has for a number of years concentrated on the problems of big city life and on family affairs in cities. She has recently produced a paper in the fourteenth issue of the Cologne *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* destroying these legends and sayings.

One historian at the turn of the century gave greater credence to the idea that aversion to marriages took place in Rome just before the decline and fall. Nowadays different ideas prevail. In major cities in this country people are marrying earlier and earlier all the times. Young people in the big city generation are resolutely set on marriage and starting a family, even when they are going through the hard-saving period of engagement preparatory to marriage. A family is the centre of their purpose in life.

Together with statistics the legend of decadence and the decline of family life in large cities became more accentuated. This idea was buttressed by the high death rate as a result of epidemics such as typhus and tuberculosis. The fear that major cities were unable to maintain their own impetus except by immigration was linked to the idea that they bled the country white of its lifeblood. The decline of the city generation – it was maintained that they would die out after the third generation – was a favourite theme in literature. It is only necessary to cite Hermann Bang's "The Hopeless Generation" and Thomas Mann's "Buddenbrooks".

Nevertheless autobiographies and memoirs gave a more positive picture of life as a child in big cities than did fiction. Thanks to improved sanitation the death rate in large cities began to decline and declined below the level in the country. But still the mistrust of the unhealthy major city persisted, and it is possible to prove that just as many married couples remained childless in the country as did couples in cities. The decline in the birthrate was regarded by contemporaries as a sign of the flagging will to live.

In fact this was due to other causes. What must be taken into consideration is that with the decline of the infant mortality rate there was an increase in the number of small families.

Professor Pfeil also shatters the idea of the disintegration of the family. No longer did three generations of a family live under the same roof, that is true, but families lived close to each other so that they could help each other out when needed. The critical situation decisions were made as a three-generation family.

Women who decide to carry on working after they have had their first child are still dependent on the willingness of mother or mother-in-law to look after the child whilst the woman works. The first generation makes it possible for the second generation to earn money by looking after the third generation.

There is nothing to prove the idea that city families were isolated. They lived in a considerable social network of friends and relations and their contacts with neighbours were considerable. Only when considering the situation in small villages and hamlets does the idea of the lack of neighbourly friendliness gain ground. But when people are asked what good neighbourliness means, people in a large city maintained the view that it involved helping out when in need.

Professor Pfeil said: "In large blocks of rented flats in large cities it is possible to find friendliness and just as it is possible to find people who were cold to their neighbours, the outgoing and the reserved."

Investigations in London, Bristol, Paris, Dortmund and Hamburg have shown that families have contact with other families. Only from three to five per cent of them had little contact with either friends or relations, and between seventy and eighty per cent of young housewives lived close to their mother and had visited her within the past week.

Of course the distance families live from each other does play a part in the number of times visits are made to other members. Relations with friends are little altered because people move house. The relationship usually continues. Relatives tend to move into new housing estates.

Closely connected with the idea of the decline of family life in cities is the concept of rootlessness. To a certain extent this is true. This is basically dependent on the life of the city.

The second generation members of a family living in a major city show an unexpected faithfulness to their city, more so than do the members of the first generation. This is probably because they are able to find jobs, more so in the big cities, along with social welfare facilities, all this making a change of home unnecessary. Usually a young married couple may rent a flat when they first marry but it is usually not too distant from the parents, so long as satisfactory accommodation is available nearby.

It is only partly true to call city dwellers *nomads*. For it will be noticed that most of the home movement within a city involves people who have been living in the same part of the city before.

Between two thirds and three quarters of people prefer to continue living in their usual quarter be it in Paris or Hamburg. People have taken roots, if we can use this horticultural phrase. Major cities can become a home.

(Welt der Arbeit, 1 September 1972)

Lions and tigers, nightingales and deer at Rhine game reserves

The first glance is very exciting. There in the middle of the forest, Leo the lion is lying stretched out, the king of the desert looking just like a pussy cat. The double doors of the Wallerstädten animal park close behind us. Slowly the car goes through the park with the windows firmly wound up and the doors securely closed. To the right and the left there are lions and tigers looking for all the world as if they were naturally to be found in the forests of this country. The whole situation is bizarre. Just a little before, it had rained making the greenery sparkle a far cry from the dessicated savannah where the lions have their natural habitat.

South-west from Frankfurt, at Gross-Gerau, a little bit of East Africa has been created and not far away a nature reserve where rabbits hop about, deer amble about and pheasants whirr into the air. Both are nature reserves the one for animals foreign to this country the other for animals indigenous to the Federal Republic. To see these wild animals in their natural habitat would take more than a few hours of travel – the others are indigenous to this country.

Kühkopf, that was for hundreds of years a frontier island in the Rhine, is now an exotic tourist attraction opened to the public for the past few months, adding to this country's tourist delights.

The nature park gives some idea of what the continent of Africa is like and the animals that live there. At Wallerstädten, a nature reserve that operates in conjunction with other reserves in Europe, lions and tigers romp about. There are no apes in the park, but elephants with long trunks and giraffes with long necks delight those on camera safaris and give the whole scene a convincing atmosphere of the African bush. In the park ibex, cranes, llamas, zebras and flamigoes live cheek by jowl as it were with dromedaries, buffalo, bison, antelopes and zebus. They come and sniff around the souvenir shops, the monorail and the stalls and the ibex finally makes its way behind the counter of an empty wooden kiosk and to the delight of the laughing children plays the part of shop-keeper. But he soon finds empty sweet boxes frustrating and leaves his post.

Close by in the thickets the tiger just like the deer peers about him and keeps a wary eye on his lion colleagues, but local and exotic animals live together peacefully.

Europe is not such a strange place for the more predatory species of the cat family. Lions lived in Europe up to the fifth century. Tigers and lions are fond of snow and only when it is frosty and very cold do they huddle up in little huts provided for them. Otherwise they remain in the open, and they seem to find nothing wrong with the forest land in this country. They seem to be full of life in this country's climate, more so perhaps than in their natural habitat where, to avoid the heat of the day, they only go out on hunting forays during the night or at dawn when it is cool.

Of course it is not so easy to see the animals in a nature reserve as it is in a zoo. They are not always easily found. They tend to lie around in the open in African game reserves, such as the Nairobi Park, and can be easily seen. The heat makes them less active but in this country they are on the move.

Those creatures are not to be compared with what is to be seen at Kühkopf, just twenty minutes car-drive away. Here graceful deer are to be seen foraging through the meadows, nightingales flutter about, herons splash among the waters of the Rhine and kingfishers swoop for their booty.

Kühkopf is an island in a bend in the Rhine and became an island after a straightening process of the course of the river a hundred years ago. Now the small islet in the west of the waters of the new Rhine is surrounded in the north-east and south by the midge-infested arms of the old Rhine. In the past there was only a small ferry plying its way from the east side from Goddelau to the island like a little ferry-boat. The ferry is still in existence today but a modern bridge links the nature reservation with the mainland, crossing at Stockstadt.

Kühkopf is steeped in history. Near to Erfelden King Gustav of Sweden crossed the Rhine in 1631 to drive away the Spanish troops that had been laying waste the countryside round Oppenheim on the opposite side of the river. A monument stands recording this event surmounted with the rampant Swedish lion. The monument, erected in 1632, can only be reached by travelling along poor roads but it is worth the trouble. The monument is located in a setting that is picturesque and idyllic, recalling days bygone.

The nature-lover can enjoy quiet and seclusion here, although at the weekends things do get a little hectic with much toing and froing, between the two pubs on the island. Then the nature park of the deer and nightingales will resemble that of the lions and tigers nearby which attracts visitors day in, day out and compensates them for the fact that Africa is far off and their small holiday allowances are insufficient.

Ruth Gerisch

(Deutsche Zeitung, 1 September 1972)



A curious tiger at Wallerstädten

(Photo: Katalog)

Olympic team lived up to expectations

"The results have lived up to our statistical expectations," Richard Möll, director of the Federal Committee on Competitive Sport, noted on the eve of the final day of the Munich Olympics.

He was, of course, referring to the number of medals won by this country's team, which was, he feels, some twenty members too strong in number.

At a press conference he and his colleague Tomasz Lempart expressed the view that the preliminary balance of the Munich Olympics as regards the performance of the host country's athletes could at least be considered not to have been negative.

According to Möll the number of Olympic medals expected on the basis of statistics had varied between 29 and forty. On the eve of the final day a total of 38 gold, silver and bronze medals had been notched up by Federal Republic athletes and assuming that the equestrian team would go on to win a medal in the Prix des Nations (they did in fact win gold) the representatives of the Competitive Sport Committee concluded that there had been a slight improvement on Mexico.

"Working on the basis of the 26 medals won in Mexico," Lempart explained, "you have to add five medals attributable to being the host country and a further four or five due to the introduction of fresh Olympic disciplines.

"This amounts to a total of 35 or 36 medals. Any increase on this number must be regarded as progress."

The Committee members admitted that rough estimates of this kind can be most deceptive. They are, for instance, no guide whatsoever as to the work put in by the various sports associations representing the individual disciplines.

Viewed in this light the major contributor to a collection of Olympic medals that is not unimpressive, particularly as far as gold is concerned, was the Amateur Athletics Federation. Without its share of medals sport in this country would have cut a poor figure.

Yet no discipline can claim to have been short of cash or available funds this time. "The team that took part in the Munich Olympics," Professor Josef Nöcker, chef de mission of this country's team, commented, "was the best prepared we have ever had." Nöcker considered their performance to have been satisfactory.

This is not to say that there has been no criticism. With few, albeit gratifying exceptions, it is alleged, the efforts, financial and otherwise, that have been made since Mexico have brought little reward.

Progress, it is claimed, has not been made: at best outright disaster has been averted. Compared with athletes from the GDR, it is claimed, top-flight sport in this country is still treading water.

In most cases, the counter-argument runs, this country is simply eight years or so behind the times. "There can be no question of catching up, unless, that is, we in this country are prepared to accept a social system such as that practised in the other part of Germany. There is no occasion for resignation."

In the wake of Munich the Competitive Sport Committee, which evidently lacks neither manpower nor ideas nor funds but would appear to lack the power to put its ideas into practice, considers four targets to be the most urgent.

In the words of Richard Möll they are decentralisation of training, wide-ranging training of coaches, optimum sifting and talent-spotting and improved medical supervision.

Policy goals have thus, as so often in the past, been outlined in black and white. Whether they can be put into practice depends more on structural than on financial considerations.

Frankfurt mail order magnate and Olympic equestrian gold medallist Josef Neckermann, present at the press conference as head of the Sports Aid Foundation, sounded a critical note.

Alluding to the vagaries of the various sports associations Neckermann left listeners in no doubt that his interest in the sports aid fund-raising was declining steadily and would continue to do so unless far-reaching changes were soon instigated.

Josef Neckermann was convinced that the Competitive Sport Committee and the Sports Aid Foundation were setting about matters the right way.

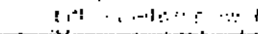
His conviction was borne out by such encouraging results as the gold medal in the women's high-jump, won by sixteen-year-old schoolgirl Ulrike Meyfarth, and the talented scions of the Max Ritter School, at which special emphasis is laid on swimming.

(Die Welt, 12 September 1972)











Some of the Federal Republic Gold medal winners, clockwise, the hockey team, dressage medallist Liselott Linsenhoff, light-middle weight boxer Dieter Kottysch, the 4 x 100 metre women's relay team and the Federal Republic show-jumping team.

(Photos: dpa 3, Schirner 2)